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SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

BRITISH ARMY,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL HOWE,

AND OF

THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE,

ON

The Memorable September 11th, 1777,

AND

THE ADVENTURES OF THAT DAY, WHICH CAME TO THE KNOWLEDGE
AND OBSERVATION OF

JOSEPH TOWNSEND,
LATE OF BALTIMORE, MD.

ACCOMPANIED BY

A NOTICE OF THE LIFE OF JOSEPH TOWNSEND, AND AN HISTORICAL
SKETCH OF THE BATTLE.

&c. &c.

PUBLISHED BY TOWNSEND WARD,
NO. 45 SOUTH FOURTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

Press of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. -

1846.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE GROUND.

The accompanying plan, of the battle ground of Brandywine, is from an actual survey made during the past summer, under the direction of John S. Bowen and J. Smith Futhey, Esquires, of West Chester. The position of the British and American forces, of many of the houses, and of the woods, as they existed, was ascertained and laid down from a rare and valuable map kindly loaned the committee by the Franklin Institute. As this map was published but a few months after the battle, and is (in the opinion of gentlemen familiar with the history and scene of the action) drawn with great accuracy, the committee have followed it implicitly. It bears the following title :

"Battle of Brandywine in which the rebels were defeated, September 11th, 1777, by the army under the command of General Sir William Howe."

Note.—"The operations of the column under the command of his Excellency Lieutenant General Knyphausen, is engraved from a plan drawn on the spot by S. W. Werner, Lieutenant of Hessian Artillery, engraved by William Faden, Charing Cross, 1778."

"Published according to Act of Parliament, by William Faden, Charing Cross, (London,) April, 1778."

The following references to the respective columns under the command of Lord Cornwallis and General Knyphausen, are copied from the British map.

References to the column under the Command of Lieutenant General Earl Cornwallis.

A. A. Column under the command of Lieutenant General Earl Cornwallis, after having crossed the forks of the Brandywine at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

B. B. The third brigade, which was not brought into action, but kept in reserve in the rear of the fourth brigade.

C. Two squadrons of Dragoons which were not employed.

D. Light Infantry and Chasseurs beginning the attack.

E. E. Attack of the guards and Hessian Grenadiers who forced the enemy on the first onset.

F. A part of the enemy's right forced by the 2d Light Infantry and Chasseurs.

G. G. The 1st British Grenadiers, the Hessian Grenadiers and the guards entangled in the woods.

H. H. H. March of the 2d Light Infantry, 2d Grenadiers, and 4th Brigade beyond Dilworth, where they dislodged a corps of the enemy strongly posted.

References to the column under the command of His Excellency Lieutenant General Knyphausen.

a. a. Column under the command of His Excellency Lieutenant General Knyphausen in march at 9 in the morning, his van having drove back the rebel detachments which attempted to defend the defiles from Welch's Tavern to the heights of Chadds' Ford.

b. b. Heights and woods occupied by the rebels. c. Small Fleche raised by do.

d. The British Riflemen posted behind a house and supported by 100 men of General Stirn's Brigade.

e. The Queen's Rangers pursuing the enemy dislodged from the woods. f.

g. Four pieces of cannon, with the 49th Regiment to support the attack of the advanced troops, and the 28th Regiment who crossed the valley, h, to get to the height, i, which the enemy abandoned at their approach as well as the Fleche, c.

k. March of the troops to take the position, n, which was done under the fire of cannon in l, and under that of the enemy in m, m.

n.n.n.n. Position of the column from half after ten in the morning till four in the afternoon, when General Howe made his attack on the other side of the Brandywine creek, near Dilworth. The position of the rebels was then in o. o. o. o.

p. March of the troops to the Ford under the fire of the cannon, g. The enemy fired from their batteries, m, m.

r. Ford where the troops crossed the creek and charged the enemy, who at first opposed them with some resolution, but soon gave way. The Riflemen and Queen's Rangers, with the 71st, the 4th, and the 5th followed by all the British Regiments, and by General Stirn's Brigade forced the enemy to abandon their Batteries, m. m. And after some resistance near the houses, s. s., to retire at t. t., from which position they fired upon the troops with four pieces of cannon. The rebels afterwards retreated to Chester, the night favoured their escape and saved them from pursuit. Lieutenant General Knyphausen's column having joined General Howe, remained in the position u. u.

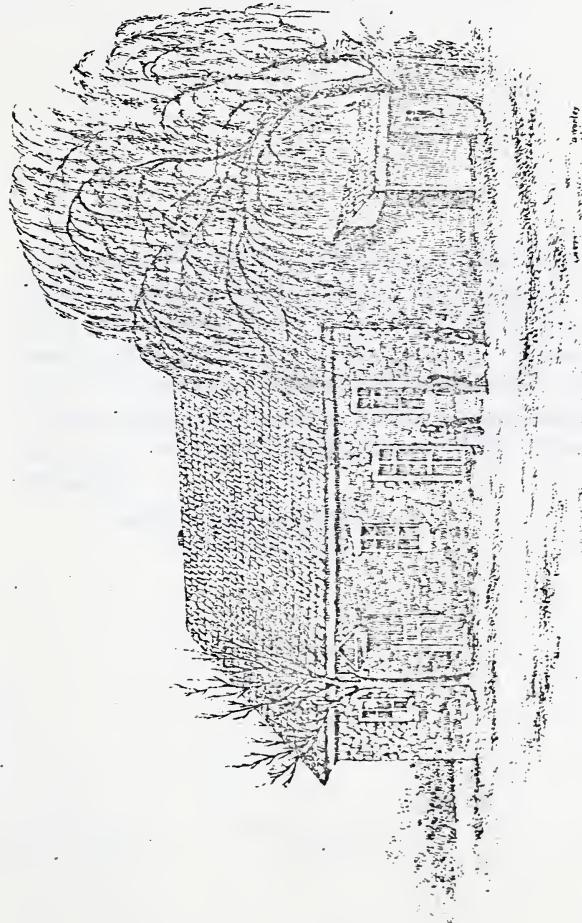
Reference showing the names of the occupants of the houses in the vicinity of the battle at that time, and the names of the present occupants, (1846.)

1. George Strode's, subsequently Philip Price's (now Jonathan Paxson's.)
2. _____, (now Dr. A. L. Elwyn's.)
3. Richard Strode's (the portion now remaining is in the occupancy of his son Richard Strode.)
4. Widow Susannah Davis's (not standing at present, the house built upon its site occupied by Aaron Sharpless.)
5. Mary, widow of John Davis's, once Amos Davis's, (not standing.)
6. Mary, widow of James Davis's, once Daniel Davis's, (now modernized and occupied by Hibbert Davis.)
7. William Jones's, (now Brinton Jones's, his grandson.)
8. Isaac Davis's, (now Abraham Darlington's.)
9. John Woodward's, (not standing.)
10. Richard Evanson's, (now Lewis Brinton's.)
11. House believed to have been occupied by J. Bolton, (not standing.)
12. Isaac Garrett's, (not standing.)
13. Abraham Darlington's, (now Clement Biddle's.)
14. John Bennett's, (not standing.)
15. Edward Brinton, Esqrs. (now Edward B. Darlington, his grandson's.)
16. George Brinton's, (now Ziba Darlington's.) This house was built in 1704, by William Brinton, great grand father of present occupant.)
17. William Thatcher's, (now William Thatcher's.)
18. Israel Gilpin's—Howes' Head Quarters, (now George Gilpin's.)
19. John Henderson's (Harlan Webb now occupies a house built on or near the spot.)
20. Samuel Painter's, (now William Painter's.)
21. Gideon Gilpin's, La Fayette's Head Quarters, (now Wiliam Painter's.)
22. Benjamin Ring's, Washington's Head Quarters, (now Chalkley Harvey's)
23. William Harvey's, (not standing.)
24. Davis's Tavern, (now in ruins.)
25. John Chadd's, (still standing.)
26. Amos House's (not standing.)
27. George Martin's, (now Gideon Williamson's)
28. Smith shop, (not standing.)
29. The largest body of forest now remaining in the district.
30. Height where cannon were fired by Sir Wm. Howe.
* * Pits in which soldiers were buried.
- I I Ravine in which Greene covered the retreat.
- J Wistar's woods. † Artillery.



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BIRMINGHAM MEETING HOUSE

*From a Panoramic by
the Miss Langdales.*

The committee on the Bulletin desire to return their thanks to the Library Committee of the Franklin Institute, for their permission to use the "Plan of the Battle of Brandywine," the property of the Institute, and to the following gentleman of West Chester and its vicinity, for their valuable assistance in the preparation of this and the following number. To John S. Bowen, J. Smith Futhey, John Hickman, Jr., Joseph C. Strode, and Ziba Darlington, Esqs., and to Dr. William Darlington; also to Henry C. Townsend, Esq., of Philadelphia.

Hall of the Historical Society, }
October 14th, 1846. }



A SKETCH OF THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.*

(September 11th, 1777.)

The campaign of 1777 was devoted by Sir William Howe and the forces under his command to obtaining possession of the city of Philadelphia.

The importance of this place in a military point of view has been questioned on both sides, and both Washington and Howe have been censured for their pertinacity. It will be well, therefore, before entering upon the particulars of the engagement which decided its fate, to present some of the most prominent reasons for thus estimating the importance of this city.

Philadelphia was at that time the largest city in the revolted provinces; it was the seat of the Continental Congress and the centre of the colonies. Although commanding a ready access to the sea, it was capable of being readily protected from the approach of a hostile fleet, and it lay in the heart of an open, extended country, rich, comparatively populous, and so far but little disturbed during the war. Hence it was the proper seat of that body which devised measures and provided means for carrying on the war.

The moral influence resulting from the position of Congress at this point was also great. All do not reason as Statesmen or Generals. Whilst the seat of Congress was secure, men were led to mock at the arms which could not penetrate to the headquarters of the infant nation.

But the winter following its capture, and the early part of the succeeding campaign, were seasons of gloom and apathy from North to South; while on the other hand, the British felt secure in their possession of the city, until France had signified her intention of lending the Americans a helping hand.

Another reason, of weight, with both parties, was the fact that this region, was, owing to its position and the peaceful disposition of much of its population, less affected by the yoke of Britain, and less influenced by the enthusiasm of the other colonies. In the possession of the British, this disaffection to the cause of the revolution would tend to strengthen their hold upon the country, whilst on the other hand but little positive injury was experienced from it to the side of the Whigs.

Influenced by such reasons, Sir William Howe made repeated efforts in the earlier part of the campaign to draw Gen. Wash-

*The committee are indebted for the above sketch, to the kindness of John S. Bowen, and J. Smith Futhey, Esqrs., of West Chester.

ington from his position in New Jersey, so as to bring on an engagement that might open him a way across that state. Failing in this, his forces were withdrawn, and preparations made for embarking the troops. Their destination being uncertain, the continental forces occupied the ground thus abandoned, with a view to defend any point upon the Hudson that might be attacked, and to watch any other movements of the fleet.

The British embarked on the fifth of July, but did not leave Sandy Hook until the twenty-third. On the thirtieth they reached the capes of Delaware Bay. Here learning the obstructions that had been placed in the river, they set sail for Chesapeake Bay, which they entered about the middle of August, on the twenty-fourth of which month they effected a landing at Turkey's Point, near the head of Elk (now Elkton.)

On the twenty-seventh, the vanguard under Sir William Howe proceeded to the head of Elk, and on the following day to Gray's Hill, about two miles to the eastward.

At the head of the Elk was a quantity of public and private stores, including a considerable supply of salt, of which Washington in his official letters says "Every attempt will be made to secure that." The value of this article during the war will be remembered. One bushel was a sufficient bribe to induce the attempt to capture Squire Cheyney, for the price of which a suit was subsequently brought before the Squire himself.

The stores were mostly secured ; the large amount of valuable property removed by the residents required almost all the teams within reach, so that several thousand bushels of corn and oats fell into the hands of the enemy.

Howe immediately issued a proclamation declaring that private property should be respected, and strict order and discipline maintained, and offering pardon and protection to all who would submit to the authority of Britain.

Three brigades, composing the rear guard, under Gen. Knyphausen remained at the landing to cover the debarkation of the stores and artillery, whilst one brigade under Gen. Grant, occupied a central position between Howe and Knyphausen. On the first of September Gen. Knyphausen, crossed over to Cecil Court House, whence he proceeded on the east side and joined the forces under Howe on the third of the month. Gen. Grant remained at the head of Elk to maintain the communication with the shipping.

As soon as Gen. Washington had learned the preparations for departure made in New York by the British troops, he took position at Morristown, N. J., whence he could command the highland passes on the Hudson and oppose any renewed attempt to cross New Jersey towards Philadelphia:

The time consumed in the embarkation indicated a longer voyage than the ascent of the Hudson. Accordingly, whilst prepara-

tions to receive the enemy on that river and to the eastward were not neglected, the completion of the fortifications upon the Delaware was hastened, and the militia of the lower counties of Pennsylvania and the state of Delaware was assembled at Chester and Wilmington.

The departure of the fleet was the signal for the march of the American troops to the southward. Gen. Stephen, with his division and that of Gen. Lincoln proceeded to Chester, Gen. Lincoln having been ordered to join Gen. Schuyler in the North. The divisions of Generals Sullivan and Sterling, with that of Gen. Greene, (composed of the brigades of Muhlenberg and Weedon) slowly approached, accompanied by Gen. Washington in person. Morgan's and Bland's regiments of horse were with them. Gen. Nash received orders, upon receipt of intelligence of the fleet's being off the capes of the Chesapeake, to embark with Proctor's artillery for Chester.

On the twenty-fourth of August, Washington marched through Philadelphia, passing down Front street, and up Chestnut street, about seven in the morning, and proceeded without delay to Chester.

From this time Washington was incessantly engaged in thoroughly reconnoitering the country between Philadelphia and the Chesapeake.

The Delaware militia had been early posted at the head of Elk, and entrusted with the removal of the stores; on the twenty-seventh of August about nine hundred Pennsylvania militia marched in that direction.

The cavalry were placed under the command of Count Pulaski: the Marquis La Fayette now first entered, as a volunteer, the revolutionary service.

Washington mentions in his correspondence heavy rains upon the twenty-sixth of August, which injured the arms and ammunition, the last rain spoken of prior to the eleventh of September: on the latter date, therefore, the waters of Brandywine creek must have been low, and the fords shallow, as is usually the case at that season.

From the first movements of the British in advance, active skirmishing, sometimes of considerable bodies, took place. On the twenty-eighth the Americans took between thirty and forty prisoners, and twelve deserters from the navy and eight from the army came into their camp. These stated the British forces to be in good health, but the horses as having suffered from the length of the voyage. On the twenty-ninth Capt. Lee took twenty-four prisoners.

On the third of September Cornwallis, now joined by Knynhausen, moved forward and encamped above Pencader. A severe though brief encounter occurred between his division and Maxwell's

regiment of foot. The British stated their loss at three killed and nineteen wounded, and that of the Americans at forty killed and wounded; but while the loss of the latter seems to be correctly given, it would appear that that of the former was much greater. A woman who came from their camp the next day, said that she had seen nine wagon loads of wounded brought in. Maxwell's riflemen were thinly posted and poured a well directed fire into the solid ranks of the advancing columns, having formed, in fact, a kind of ambuscade.

On the eighth, the American army took its position behind Red Clay creek, the left resting upon Newport on the Christiana, being on the road leading directly from the British camp to Philadelphia. The right extended a considerable distance up the creek to Hockesson. Here a battle was anticipated. But on that day, Gen. Grant having embarked the tents and heavy baggage, rejoined the remainder of the army, which was again put in motion. The main body advanced by Newark, near which they had been posted, upon the right of the American encampment and took post within four miles of that point, extending their left still further up the country. A strong column made a feint of attacking in front, and after some manœuvring, halted at Milltown, within two miles of the centre of the Americans.

This show of attacks and the simultaneous extension of the enemy's left so far up the country, induced Washington to change his position, as he believed the object of the enemy to be to turn his right, cross the Brandywine, and cut off his communication with Philadelphia. This, if successfully carried out, would have hemmed him in upon a tongue of land between the British army and their fleet, where he must have been overpowered or compelled to fight his way out under every disadvantage.

Accordingly after reconnoitering the enemy, Washington at two o'clock in the morning of the ninth, withdrew towards Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine, and on the evening of that day, entrenched himself upon the high ground on the left, or east bank of the creek. Maxwell's light infantry occupied the advanced posts, and during the night of the tenth, threw up defences on the right, or west bank, at the approaches to the ford.

On the evening of the ninth the British marched forward in two columns. Lieut. Gen. Knyphausen, with the left, encamped at New Garden and Kennett Square; Cornwallis with the right, occupied a piece of ground below, at Hockesson meeting house.

Early next day they united at Kennett Square, whence in the evening they advanced to within about a mile of Welsh's tavern, probably for the convenience of water.

Their army (according to Stedman,) consisted of thirty-six Hessian and British battalions, infantry, light infantry and grenadiers; a corps called the Queen's Rangers (organized, it seems,

in New York) and a regiment of Light Horse. The whole were estimated at eighteen thousand men.

The column of Lord Cornwallis, on the eleventh, consisted of two battalions of grenadiers, two of light infantry, the Hessian grenadiers, part of the seventy-first regiment, and two British brigades; in all about thirteen thousand men.

That of Knyphausen consisted of two British brigades, the residue of the Hessians and Wemyss's corps of rangers; in all about five thousand.

The position of the two armies on the morning of the eleventh of September, will be seen by reference to the accompanying map. On the preceding night the British army lay at Kennett Square and to the east and west of that place, which was a small village. A road led from it directly to Chadd's Ford. Welsh's tavern (still existing) is about three miles to the east of it, on this road; a short distance beyond is Kennett meeting house and grave yard; and about a mile west of Chadd's Ford is an eminence then occupied by Maxwell's out-posts. West of Welsh's tavern a road runs directly north to the street road, and after reaching this, recommences again a short distance to the eastward, and runs again north, crossing the west branch of the Brandywine at Trimble's Ford.

Early on the morning of the eleventh the Commander-in-Chief, with the column of Cornwallis, took this road leading northwardly to Trimble's Ford, and under cover of the hills and forests, and aided by a fog, proceeded a considerable distance unobserved. Knyphausen started much later, and then pursued the direct road to Chadd's Ford, upon the eminences near which it will be remembered that Maxwell's regiment was posted. Scouting parties of light horse were also sent out upon this road.

To the east of Chadd's Ford and commanding it was posted the main body of the American army, consisting of the brigades of Muhlenburg and Weedon, forming Gen. Green's division. Wayne's division and Proctor's artillery occupied an entrenchment upon the brow of an eminence immediately above the ford. The brigades of Sullivan, Stirling and Stephens, forming the right wing, extended some distance up the river. To the left of the main body, and two miles below them, Gen. Armstrong with about a thousand Pennsylvania militia, was posted to guard Pyle's Ford.

The Fords of the Brandywine in ascending order were Pyle's Ford just mentioned; Chadd's Ford, where the attempt to force a passage was anticipated; Brinton's, one mile above and more difficult; Painter's, called also Jones's, on the street road, about three miles above Chadd's Ford, and about two and a half miles below the forks of the creek; Wister's or Shunk's, about a mile above Painter's. On the east or north branch were three fords, Buffington's, immediately above the forks, Jeffers' Ford (by mistake called

Jones's in Washington's letters and elsewhere,) about six miles from Chadd's Ford, and about a mile and a half above the forks, and Taylor's Ford about a mile and a half up higher, where "the old Lancaster Road" crossed. On the west branch was Trimble's Ford, about one mile above the forks, and full five miles from the British encampment. Seeds's Ford is unnoticed in the old annals.

The whole country abounded in forests, interspersed with plantations, more or less detached. To the east of the Brandywine it was more open, but both banks of the creek were pretty densely covered with woods. The country is undulating, the larger hills usually skirting the creek separated by flats now forming beautiful and luxuriant meadows, but then doubtless covered with the primitive forest. So dense and impenetrable were the wood and undergrowth upon these flats that a part of them above Painter's bridge on the street road bears to this day the name of Dungeon Bottom.

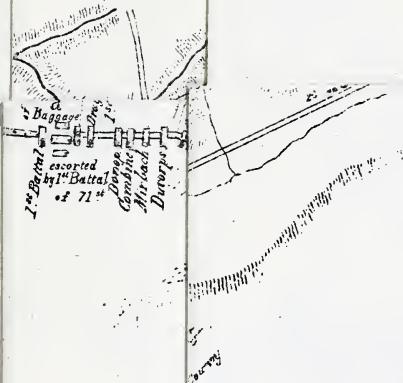
Birmingham meeting house is on the brow of a hill, about three miles north of Chadd's ford, one fourth of a mile south of the street road, and about two miles east of Painter's Ford.—Jones's house lies to the north, the farm extending to the street road. An orchard occupied a portion of the angle formed by the street road, and "the great Dilworthtown road," which passes both this house and Birmingham meeting house. Osborne's hill is about a mile north of the meeting house. Sconneltown (now entirely extinct,) was on the top of another eminence between Jefferis' Ford and Osborne's Hill.

"The Great Valley road," spoken of in the narratives of the battle, was the road leading from Kennett Square through Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords, and by the Turk's Head (now West Chester,) to the Great Valley, four miles north of the latter place.

Martin's tavern (now Marshaltown) was about four miles west of the Turk's Head, and about two miles west of Taylor's Ford, on "the old Lancaster road," which traversed nearly the same ground upon which the Strasburg road was subsequently laid out.

Upon the roads leading to Chadd's and Taylor's Fords and towards Wilmington, parties of British light horse were sent out on the tenth, most probably to reconnoitre.

The column under Cornwallis set out at daybreak on the eleventh, that under Knyphausen, about nine o'clock. A very dense and heavy fog continued until a late hour. A scouting party of American light horse had ventured as far as Welsh's tavern, and having carelessly left their horses in front of the inn, were drinking at the bar when the advance of the British approached within a few rods, before they were discovered. The troopers fired one volley, escaped by the back of the house and fled across the fields to the woods, leaving their horses in the





Plan of the Battle
OF
BRANDYWINE.

September 11th 1777.

Compiled from an actual Survey made during the summer
of 1846

America [American] [American]

British [British] [British]

Morristown & Springfield [Morristown] [Springfield]

Thick Roads [Thick Roads]

Orange Line [Orange Line]

Blue Line [Blue Line]





hands of the enemy. Tradition mentions as the only result of their fire the death of a horse belonging to one of the British cavalry, who mounted one of those left by the Americans and rode on.

About a mile beyond, the column was again fired on by a party stationed behind the walls of Old Kennett Grave Yard, and a retreating fire was kept up from behind walls and trees, until Maxwell's forces became engaged with the advance of the division. A body of troops sent to dislodge him from his position on the heights about a mile from the ford compelled him to retire until reinforced from the eminence at the edge of the creek. The front ranks of Knyphausen were then thrown into confusion, but being sustained by successive detachments, drove Maxwell back and finally across the creek. This part of the action began about ten o'clock. It is probable from the advantageous position of Maxwell's men on each side of the road and upon entrenched heights, that the loss of the British must have been considerable. Washington's Secretary, writing the same day, (before the engagement at Birmingham,) estimates their loss at three hundred killed and wounded, and adds, "ours does not exceed fifty in the whole."

After securing the height, Knyphausen commenced a heavy cannonade, which was continued with little intermission until the ford was passed. Every feint and manœuvre was tried to present the appearance of a large force and a vehement effort to cross the ford.

Several detachments of the Americans crossed the creek and assailed the British who were labouring to throw up entrenchments and batteries. Captains Porterfield and Waggoner having thus passed over and secured a footing on the western bank, Gen. Maxwell returned in force, and a warm conflict ensued. Maxwell driving the enemy from the ground, killing thirty men, (among them a captain of the forty-ninth, and seizing some entrenching tools with which they were throwing up a battery.) The sharpness of the skirmish soon drew upon them overwhelming numbers, and the Americans were again repulsed.

Lord Cornwallis, with the larger division arrived, it may be presumed, at the summit of the hills south of Trimble's ford, before or about the time when Knyphausen moved from Kennett Square. Some cannon were discharged at this point, (and balls have been found in the vicinity,) for which it is difficult to account, unless they were designed to notify to Knyphausen their having gained a midway position, or to direct him to march to the ford.

Gen. Sullivan, who commanded the right wing of the American army, had received instructions to guard the fords as high up as Buffington's, just above the forks of the Brandywine. Scouting

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parties were sent out in various directions to watch the movements of the enemy. Col. Bland, with the light horse, crossed the creek at a point above the camp, probably at Painter's Ford on the street road, with orders to watch the movements of the enemy should they make any demonstrations of an attempt to turn the enemy's right. He in fact sent early information that he had seen two brigades advancing on "the valley road" towards Trimble's Ford, and that the dust appeared to rise in their rear for a considerable distance. This was confirmed by a note from Col. Ross who was in their rear, and who estimated the force that he had seen at not less than five thousand.

The intelligence being thus confirmed of a large division's being so far separated from the army at Chadd's Ford, Washington formed the bold design of crossing the Brandywine with the great body of his troops and falling upon Knyphausen, and orders were sent to Gen. Greene to cross above the ford. Before this could be effected, counter intelligence was received by Sullivan, who had advanced to meet the division under Cornwallis. This is said to have come from a major of militia, who stated that he had just left the forks, and that there was no appearance of an enemy in that quarter. It was also reported about the same time that Cornwallis had turned and was coming down the right or west bank of the creek to join Knyphausen. Sullivan communicated these reports to the Commander in Chief, and they seem to have had sufficient weight to discredit the intelligence received from Col. Bland and Col. Ross. Whether Sullivan be censurable or not for confiding in these reports, it is evident that it was within his power to ascertain the truth and that within an hour's time. The street road was open across the whole country to the westward, and the road northward led to Buffington's Ford just above the forks. Scouting parties might readily have reached Osborne's Hill, even at a late hour; but though his orders required him to guard as high up as the forks, there is every reason to believe that he had no party (except Col. Bland) on the west of the stream, north of the street road. In this all tradition concurs.

Whilst Washington was in the state of painful uncertainty produced by these conflicting accounts, Squire Cheyney rode up to the forces under Sullivan, and being uncourteously received by that General, demanded to be led to the Commander in Chief. This was done; and the earnestness of his asseverations, to the truth of which he pledged his life, secured confidence in his statements, corroborating, as they did, the earlier information of the morning. According to his account, the enemy was already at hand, and in large force, to the eastward of the creek.

The brigades of Stephen, Stirling and Sullivan, under the command of the latter were pushed forward to Birmingham meeting house, whilst Greene's division took the intermediate

position that it had chiefly occupied during the day. Washington remained with the latter, holding it as a reserve in aid of either Wayne or Sullivan.

Birmingham meeting house had been for some days occupied as a hospital; probably the sick and wounded had been removed thither when the army took its position on Red Clay Creek. In consequence, the Friends had adjourned their meeting to the day of their usual meeting in the middle of the week, (Thursday,) appointing the wheelwright shop in Sconneltown as the place. On this day they met. Some time before separating, the younger members manifested uneasiness, which was fully explained, when on breaking up the meeting the whole country about Jefféris' Ford was seen covered with the British troops. The hour could have been little later than noon. Townsend, in his narrative, will be found clear and explicit as to these particulars. A heavy cannonade, the policy of Knyphausen, had been heard from below. About two o'clock in the afternoon Cornwallis's division reached Osborne's Hill, where they halted and took dinner, having marched nearly thirteen miles. Before they again fell in, the forces of the Americans were seen forming upon the brow of the opposite hill at Birmingham meeting house. Cornwallis, who with the field officers occupied the summit of Osborne's Hill, exclaimed, on seeing their movements, "the damned rebels form well."

Among the Americans, some dissension had arisen as to who should have the honour of occupying the right of their line. Gen. Deborre, a French officer, who had recently entered the service, claimed this post; and Sullivan finding that his orders upon the subject had been disobeyed, made a considerable circuit for the purpose of outreaching him, and thus was late upon the field with his brigade, and unable to form before the columns of the enemy vehemently attacked him. It would seem that Sullivan's manœuvre was unsuccessful, and that Deborre obtained the position he coveted, for Deborre's brigade was the first to give way, and the confusion evidently commenced at the extreme right of the line. This officer was suspended, and an inquiry into his conduct ordered, upon which he resigned.

The action was commenced by a party of Hessians, who crossed the street road and resting their guns upon the fence fired upon the outposts of the Americans, stationed in Jones' orchard north of his house. In half an hour, about four o'clock, the action became general.

The confusion created by the contest between Sullivan and Deborre spread through the ranks. In attempting to rally the troops, La Fayette was wounded in the left leg. Sullivan, whose own brigade was retreating, threw himself with Sterling and La Fayette personally into the conflict, and a most heroic stand was



made, these officers continuing to maintain their ground until the American forces were completely broken and the enemy within twenty yards of them, when they escaped into the woods.

In the course of the day Washington had pointed out to Gen. Greene a suitable position for a second stand in the event of their being obliged to fall back from either point. As soon as the engagement at Birmingham meeting house took place, Greene quickly advanced and occupied this position. It was about a mile from Birmingham meeting house, on the road to Dilworthstown, in a narrow defile flanked on both sides by woods and commanding the road. Near this place on the road side, stood a blacksmith's shop. Here the retreating parties were stopped and formed in the rear. Several hours yet remained before the darkness of the night covered the further retreat of the Americans. Knyphausen, at the first fire at Birmingham, had attempted the passage of the ford in earnest, and after a short though severe contest, Wayne's division was compelled to abandon their artillery and retreat.

Greene succeeded in defending the pass, and maintained his position until the close of the day. The brigades of Weedon and Muhlenburg greatly distinguished themselves. The most conspicuous among them were the 10th Virginia regiment, and a Pennsylvania regiment under Col. Stewart,

The entire force of the Americans could not have exceeded eleven thousand men, whilst Cornwallis's division alone is estimated at thirteen thousand. The continental troops laboured under serious disadvantages. Their muskets were not of the same calibre; their cartridges in consequence were not adapted to universal use, and the efficacy of their fire was impaired. Many of the soldiers were raw and undisciplined troops, the more readily thrown into disorder upon being attacked whilst in motion, and before they had gained their proper position in the line.

The troops that had served during the preceding campaign proved themselves able and effective; and the fact that Sir William Howe, with the superior force under his command, after pursuing the retreating Americans but for a single mile, was then checked by a few regiments, speaks much for the valour of the continental army.

According to Howe, the loss of the British was one hundred killed and four hundred wounded, whilst that of the Americans was three hundred killed and six hundred wounded. Three or four hundred were taken prisoners, chiefly of the wounded.

The militia under Gen. Armstrong, posted at Pyle's Ford, had no opportunity of engaging.

The American army retreated during the night to Chester. The baggage had been previously sent off. Their loss of blankets was considerable, and in view of the approaching season, serious.

They had been in their knapsacks, and were mostly lost during the engagement. Seven or eight cannon and a howitzer fell into the hands of the enemy.

The ardour of the troops was unabated; and Washington immediately prepared for a second engagement.

Sir William Howe's delay is unaccountable. With the exception of some movements towards Chester and Wilmington, his army remained near the field of battle until the sixteenth, when they learned that Washington was within a short distance, at the Warren tavern on the Lancaster (or old Provincial) road in the Great Valley, and prepared to give them battle. A succession of heavy rains, which ruined their ammunition, prevented the engagement, and rendered the retreat of the Americans unavoidable.

The bold design of Washington to cross the Brandywine and attack Knyphausen; whilst Sullivan was to cross above and hold the other division in check, has, singularly enough, been the occasion of a covert attack upon his military character. The author of the Life of Gen. Greene congratulates the country upon the receipt of the false intelligence which prevented the movement, and argues that the movement would have proved injurious, as his baggage would have fallen into the hands of Cornwallis. But Washington had already removed his baggage, as is shown in his letter from Chester, dated the same evening. Nothing appears to have been more likely than that a brisk attack upon Knyphausen would have been successful in dislodging, if not completely repulsing him, and that arrangements could then have been made for the more serious conflict with Cornwallis. It is not to be supposed that Washington would have been led to follow up his advantage over Knyphausen too far, to the neglect of the more important duty of guarding the fords against Cornwallis. His caution is too well known to admit of such a supposition.

This sketch has reached its proper limit. The events which succeeded—"the Massacre of Paoli" (as it is popularly called) on the night of the 20th of September, Howe's entry into Philadelphia on the 26th, the battle of Germantown and the encampment of the Americans at Valley Forge—"the darkest hour of the Revolution," form suitable subjects for the future labours of the Society; and it is greatly to be desired that persons in the vicinity of these historical localities should engage in the work of gleaning the field of tradition that nothing may possibly be lost.

NOTICE OF THE LIFE OF JOSEPH TOWNSEND.*

Joseph Townsend was the seventh child of John and Joanna Townsend, and a grandson of Joseph Townsend, who was born in Berkshire, England, in 1686, and emigrated to this country in 1714, where he purchased and occupied a large tract of land lying in East Bradford Township, in Chester county, Pennsylvania, near which the village of West Chester is now built. Joseph, the subject of this sketch, was born on the 26th day of February, 1756, upon the original tract purchased by his grandfather. He was, by birth, a member of the religious Society of Friends, as his ancestors had been for some generations before him. He remained upon the paternal farm until 1782, and witnessed in the meantime the battle of Brandywine, which occurred on the 11th September, 1777. The devastation committed by the passage of the British army under the command of Gen. Howe, through Chester county, induced him to emigrate, and in the year 1782 he removed to the Little Falls of Gunpowder, in Harford county, Maryland, where he taught school one year. In the fall of 1783 he removed to Baltimore, and the town being then small and growing, he soon took an active part in its advancement—was a member of the Board of Health in 1794, 1797 and 1800, during the three several visitations of the yellow fever, and was active in the purchase of the Potter's Field, and the Maryland Hospital, both of which were demanded by that fatal disease. In 1794 he was one of the founders of the "Baltimore Equitable Society for Insuring Houses from Loss by Fire,"—an establishment based upon the mutual principle, and over which he presided for the long period of forty-seven years, until his death, having seen his adopted town expand into the importance of a large city, third in rank in the United States. Various other offices of trust and responsibility, he also held—both under the city and State governments, in corporate bodies, and in the administration of private estates, too numerous to mention in this short outline of his life.

He was three times married.

June 6th, 1782, to Hannah Painter, of Chester county, by whom he had two children; both of whom died.

May 31st, 1787, to Mary Matthews, of Baltimore, by whom he had eight children, one only of whom survives at this date, (a son.)

June 3d, 1803, to Esther Hallett, of Long Island, who survives him. They had a family of thirteen children, of whom five (a son and four

* The above sketch was at request kindly prepared by Henry C. Townsend Esq., a grand nephew of the author of the following narrative.



daughters) are living at this time. Making in all a family of twenty-three, of whom but six survive, and but nine lived to years of maturity.

His brother and seven sisters, all married, and (with one exception) had families. They remained in Chester county or removed to Philadelphia, and lived to an advanced age, from 60 to 90 years, except two sisters, who died in middle age.

Preserving the regular and temperate habits of his early life, he lived to the age of 85 years and seven months. His death was sudden and without apparent pain. He died in his own house in the city of Baltimore, on 5th day, 30th of the 9th month, 1841, having been arrested while at dinner, by his first death-stroke, from which he so far recovered as to rise from the table and lie down, when a second stroke, in a few moments, summoned him away from the living.

His remains were interred in Greenmount Cemetery, on First day, 10th mo. 3d, 1841.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
THE BRITISH ARMY UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL HOWE,
AND OF THE
BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE,

On the memorable 11th of September, 1777, &c. &c.

During the winter of 1776 and the spring of 1777, the British army had possession of New York, Long Island, &c., and numerous were the conjectures respecting their future destiny, or on what part of the continent the ensuing campaign would be opened. This continued to be the case until the summer approached, when information was generally spread that they were making preparations to leave their winter quarters, which actually took place in the month of July, but their intended movements remained a profound secret until the latter end of the ensuing month, August, when they made their appearance in the Chesapeake Bay. It was then ascertained that their object was to get possession of Philadelphia, and to march thither the most direct and favorable route to obtain that purpose, having been led to believe that the productive country through which they were to pass would render great facilities to their contemplated march, and that but little obstruction or opposition would be met with from the inhabitants of that portion of the country. The number of soldiers under arms amounted by computation to 17,000, 5000 of them being German troops, generally termed Hessians, the former being under the command of General Howe, and the latter under General Knyphausen. The fleet conveyed them up along the mouth of the Susquehanna river, and landed them a little east of Turkey point, from which place they commenced their contemplated

march. The news of their landing soon spread throughout the adjacent country, and some were of opinion that a general devastation would be the consequence. Others concluded that the country was now conquered, and peace and tranquillity would be restored by the former government's being re-established, as considerable commotion and disturbance had taken place in that section of the country respecting it.

At that time I resided at my father's, (John Townsend,) the place of my nativity, adjoining to the ground where West Chester now stands, a neighborhood where the inhabitants were alive to the prevailing reports and rumors of the day.

The first account received after their landing was, that they were at Iron Hill, a place not much known or spoken of previously as a place of note ; the next news was that they were at Allen's tavern, in the settlement of New Garden, a person having arrived who had been in sight of them, so near as to discover the buttons on their coats, which I suppose was a regiment of the German troops, who were, during the whole march, kept in front of the army, to cover the English troops from any skirmishing that might take place with the Americans, (or Rebels termed by them,) which probably would be the case before they arrived at Philadelphia, their intended winter quarters.

Things at this time began to wear a serious aspect, and the countenances of many were changed ; some of them evidently appeared gloomy, others somewhat brightened up from the consideration of pleasing prospects before them, and the favorable issue soon to be experienced.

General Washington was early apprised of the British forces' landing on the shores of the Chesapeake, and disposed of his troops in different directions to arrest their progress, in their intended march through that section of the country, and to make a stand against them at every position favorable for that purpose. A breast work was thrown up on an eminence on the east side of Brandywine creek, nearly opposite to Chadd's ford, near which his principal army was encamped. Scouting parties were reconnoitering in various directions for several miles up the said creek, to discover, if possible, the ford over which they intended to force their march.

Several persons in the neighborhood, who had manifested a disposition to support the Americans, now thought it advisable to remove their families, stock and furniture to a distance, that it might be safe from the British plunderers, as destruction would be the consequence if left in their way. Others being of a different opinion, were disposed to remain at home and risk the danger that they might be exposed to, let the consequence be what it might.

A majority of the inhabitants were of the Society of Friends, who could not consistently with their principles take any active part in the war, and who generally believed it right to remain at their dwellings, and patiently submit to whatever suffering might be their lot, and trust their all to a kind protecting Providence, who had hitherto protected and prospered their undertaking in an extraordinary manner, ever since their first settlement of the country under the proprietor and governor William Penn.

General Washington had his head quarters at Benjamin Rings'* who resided near the east side of Chadd's ford, and General La Fayette was near at hand in the neighborhood.† They were frequently together, which afforded an opportunity to spectators to view them both at the same time. Lord Stirling took possession of the dwelling of Amos House,‡ near the fording place. He was one of those who had removed his family and property to a more retired and secure place a few days previous to the army's encamping there.

On the 10th of September, in the evening, the British forces arrived and encamped at Kennett Square and its vicinity, and early on the morning following were disposed to carry into effect their concerted plan of crossing the Brandywine Creek and routing the American army from their ground of encampment, which was for General Knyphausen to conduct the troops under his command to the high grounds of the creek on the west side and commence a brisk cannonading, in order to keep up the appearance of an attempt to cross the stream of water, while General Howe conducted his troops, artillery, &c., up the creek about 7 miles to Jefferis' Ford, that he might surprise Washington's army, which lay south-east of Birmingham meeting house.

The order given to General Knyphausen was complied with. He arranged his artillery on the lands of William Harvey, Jacob Way and others adjoining, as the most eligible spot for the intended purpose, having the principal part of his troops under arms in full view of the Americans, who occupied the eminences on the east side.

General Knyphausen commenced his cannonading early after daylight, and continued it the greater part of the forenoon; it then in a great measure ceased, and it appeared as if the troops were retiring; so much so, that a company of Americans ventured to cross the creek at the ford and advance some distance on the west side without any interruption from the enemy. Thus were the Americans amused during the forenoon, and until information arrived that General Howe and his troops were crossing the creek at Jefferis' Ford, which unexpected intelligence occasioned a

* See plan, fig. 22. † See plan, fig. 21. ‡ See plan, fig. 26.

general consternation and commotion throughout the whole of General Washington's army.

It may be recollect that the whole of the movements of the enemy were concealed from General Washington. He could procure no correct intelligence respecting them, except the firing of the cannon opposite Chadd's Ford. It was near 12 o'clock before the information reached him, and it took some considerable time before he could arrange his forces to risk an engagement with them, which he endeavored to do by posting such of his troops as were prepared for action, on the eminence in front of Birmingham meeting house. Some few of them were sent forward to the meeting house, the burying ground and site contiguous being favorable for the first attack, which took place accordingly.

As the object of these memoranda is to recite some particulars of the transactions of that day, I shall now turn to the early part of it, and relate some circumstances leading thereto. On the arrival of General Washington's army from the eastward, in order to impede the progress of the British, after their landing on the shores of the Chesapeake, a considerable number of the soldiers were sick in consequence of their long marches through the excessive heat of that season of the year; on that account the commissaries and those who had the charge of the disordered persons, were obliged to take possession of the meeting houses and other public buildings as hospitals to accommodate them. Among the number thus occupied, Birmingham meeting house was to be one, and preparations were making therein for that purpose. First-day morning arrived. Friends assembled as usual, from an expectation that the meeting might be held in the house if it should be taken possession of afterwards: but from the situation of it, their request could not be granted, they therefore got permission to take some of the benches out of the house, and place them under the trees which stood in front thereof, on which they seated themselves in the quiet, as far as was practicable under existing circumstances—as the officers and workmen were moving about and engaged in making preparations to receive the sick, to be brought there as soon as the premises could be got in readiness. After the meeting had sat some time, a female Friend was concerned in public testimony—her communication was solemn and edifying. In the course of it she made mention of the visitation she had experienced when young in years from a kind Providence, who had been her support through every trial and difficulty, both inward and outward, to the present time, and the covenant she had entered into with Him to serve Him as her ability might be afforded through every dispensation she might have to pass, either within the walls of the meeting houses, or out of them, as might be her lot to experience. To me it was a favored time, and I felt thankful in being present. Under these

circumstances it became necessary that some other building should be provided to accommodate the meeting in future, until the meeting house should be cleaned and put in order for the purpose, and how soon that would be the case was uncertain from the present gloomy appearance. Several houses and rooms were talked of, but it was finally concluded to hold the next meeting in a large wheelwright shop, which stood on the eminence north of the dwelling house* now owned by Philip Price, at a place called Sconnel Town. The next meeting day was on the 11th of the month, which proved to be a memorable day.

Amos House, who had left his dwelling near Chadd's Ford, and was succeeded therein by Lord Stirling and his attendants, was in the practice of visiting the premises almost daily, to see what discovery he could make, went down on the morning of the 11th, after the cannonading had commenced, and rode under the cannon balls that were discharged from the artillery on the hills on each side of the creek without receiving any injury therefrom.

Possessed of curiosity and fond of new things, my brother William Townsend and myself with some others, rode along side of the Brandywine for some distance, to discover the approach of the British army, in case they should attempt to cross any of the fords on the creek between Jefferis' and Chadd's; we fell in with many like ourselves, but no intelligence could be obtained. We then returned to the aforesaid wheelwright shop to assemble with Friends in holding our week day meeting, being near the hour appointed. While we were sitting therein some disturbance was discovered near the house and about the door, which occasioned some individuals to go out to know the cause, and they not returning, and the uneasiness not subsiding, suspicions arose that something serious was taking place, the meeting accordingly closed. On our coming out of the house, and making some inquiry of what had happened, found it to be an alarm among some of the neighboring women, that the English army was coming, and that they murdered all before them, young and old. Some of us endeavored to quiet their fears by telling them it was not likely to be the case, and that they had better compose themselves than to make further disturbance, and while we were reasoning with them, our eyes were caught on a sudden by the appearance of the army coming out of the woods into the fields belonging to Emmor Jefferis, on the west side of the creek above the fording place. In a few minutes the fields were literally covered over with them, and they were hastening towards us. Their arms and bayonets being raised, shone as bright as silver, there being a clear sky and the day exceedingly warm. Recollecting that there was no one at our dwelling, except some of our sisters, we concluded it advisable to return home as expeditiously

* See plan fig. 1.

as possible, as we had no doubt but that they were marching direct for Philadelphia, and would pass by the house and over the farm. (Our parents had a few days before been called to their daughter Lamborn's, at Kennett, on account of the illness of her children, one of whom had died during their stay there. They were considerably plundered by the rabble who accompanied the army during their encampment at Kennett Square, to which they were contiguous.)

After our arrival at home, and our horses were enclosed in the stable, we were in momentary expectation of the army's approach, but in this we were disappointed ; and having waited some time, we ventured down the roads towards them, and when in sight of Jefferis' ford, we discovered that they had turned their course towards Birmingham, and were passing by where the meeting had on that day been held. Being disposed to have a better and nearer view, we set out for the purpose, and passing by the dwelling of Abel Boake,* we soon after met Sarah, his wife, who had been as curious as ourselves, and had been among the soldiers as they marched along. The space occupied by the main body and flanking parties was near half a mile wide. She encouraged our going amongst them, at the same time admiring their appearance, and saying what fine looking fellows they were, and to use her own expression "they were something like an army," which we would see for ourselves, if we would go amongst them, and that there would not be any objection to our entrance ; thus encouraged, we walked on until we approached the flanking party, when a soldier under arms called out "where are you going?" We replied, "we wished to see the army, &c., if there was no objection." He observed "there was their Captain, we might speak to him," which being done, leave was readily obtained, and in a few minutes we found ourselves in the midst of a crowd of military characters, rank and file: little to be discovered but staff officers, and a continued march of soldiers and occasionally a troop of horse passing : great numbers of baggage wagons began to make their appearance, well guarded by proper officers and soldiery. We passed through them until we reached one of the most eligible houses in the town,† and soon after divers of the principal officers came in, who manifested an uncommon social disposition. They were full of their inquiries respecting the rebels, where they were to be met with, and where Mr. Washington was to be found, &c. This inquiry respecting the rebels, was a general thing among the common soldiers and others, as they moved along. The officers aforesaid, were replied to by brother William Townsend, who modestly and spiritedly told them that if they would have patience a short time, he ex-

* Still standing about three-quarters of a mile S. W. of West Chester, and owned by Abraham Gibbons.

† Sconneltown.

pected they would meet with General Washington and his forces, who were not far distant, (the front of his army was then in view on the heights of Birmingham meeting house, though three miles distant from us.) They inquired what sort of a man Mr. Washington was. My brother had a knowledge of him by being with him at his quarters at Chadd's Ford, and replied that he was a stately, well proportioned, fine looking man, of great ability, active, firm and resolute, of a social disposition, and was considered to be a good man. This he observed to check their ardour for a sight of him, and to bring forward some further observations from them respecting him, to which one of them answered "that he might be a good man, but he was most damnably misled to take up arms against his sovereign." During the interview, while I was conversing with one of the officers, I inquired of him at what place they had encamped the night before, to which he replied that he knew not where the main body of the army was, but their regiment lay on the south side of the hill beyond Kennett Square. He then observed to me in some rapture "you have got a hell of a fine country here, which we have found to be the case ever since we landed at the head of Elk." The house we were in was elevated, so that on the first floor where we stood we had a pretty full view of the army as they progressed along; and while we were conversing together, my brother called on me to step to the door to see General Lord Cornwallis, who was passing by. He was on horseback, appeared tall and sat very erect. His rich scarlet clothing, loaded with gold lace, epaulets, &c., occasioned him to make a brilliant and martial appearance. The advanced part of the army made a halt at this place, and refreshed their horses by hastily cleaning off some of the corn patches that were within their lines. It may be observed that most or all of the officers who conversed with us, were of first rank, and were rather short, portly men, were well dressed and of genteel appearance, and did not look as if they had ever been exposed to any hardship; their skins being as white and delicate as is customary for females who were brought up in large cities or towns.

As we spent no idle time in viewing the strangers who surrounded us, I discovered on a sudden there was a general stir and movement among them; inquiry was made as to what could be the cause, and it was answered by one of them that they were resuming their march, and that the halt that had been made was only to refresh their horses, to enable them to perform the several duties prescribed them.

Having by this time become familiar with them, and no danger or difficulty to be apprehended from them, my curiosity or ambition was increased, and I wished a further and more full view of them than I had before had, and to have it to say that I had seen the whole of them as far as was practicable. I invited James

Johnson, an acquaintance, who was standing by, to accompany me, and we proceeded through the crowd on the public road until we reached the advanced guard, who were of the German troops. Many of them wore their beards on their upper lips, which was a novelty in that part of the country. They were then between the dwelling of Richard Strode and Osborne's Hill. Being now in the front, we walked on inconsiderately until we arrived at a pair of bars, opposite the ancient dwelling of Amos Davis,* through which we went into the field south-west of the road, and walked up to the upper fence, being the division line between the two tracts of land of Amos Davis and the heirs of his uncle, Daniel Davis. On turning our faces back, we had a grand view of the army as they advanced over and down the south side of Osborne's Hill and the lands of James Carter, scarce a vacant place left. While we were amusing ourselves with the wonderful curiosity before us, to our great astonishment and surprise the firing of the musketry took place; the advanced guard aforementioned having arrived at the street road, and were fired upon by a company of the Americans, who were stationed in the orchard north of Samuel Jones' brick dwelling house.† The attack was immediately returned by the Hessians, by their stepping up the bank of the road alongside of the orchard, making the fence as a breast work through which they fired upon the company who made the attack. From the distance we were from them (though in full view until the smoke of the firing covered them from our sight,) I was under no apprehension of danger, especially when there was such a tremendous force coming on and ready to engage in the action; nevertheless, I concluded it best to retire, finding that my inconsiderate curiosity had prompted me to exceed the bounds of prudence. I proposed to my companion, but he refused to return, being disposed to see what further steps would take place, and how it would end.

I then made the best of my way through the crowd until I arrived at the aforementioned bars on the road, which opened into the field of Amos Davis, where I was met by several companies of soldiers, who were ordered into the field to form and prepare for the approaching engagement—the opening of the bars was not of sufficient width to admit them to pass with that expedition the emergency of the case required. A German officer on horse back ordered the fence to be taken down, and as I was near to the spot, I had to be subject to his requirings as he flourished a drawn sword over my head with others who stood by; on the removal of the second rail, I was forcibly struck with the impropriety of being active in assisting to take the lives of my fellow beings, and therefore desisted proceeding any further in obedience to his

* See plan, fig. 5.

† Now occupied by his nephew, James Forsythe.

‡ See plan, fig. 7.

commands. The hurry was great, and so many rushing forward under arms, I found no difficulty in retiring undiscovered, and was soon out of the reach of those called immediately into action. I lost no time on my return; and when I arrived on the top of the hill I discovered on the eminence in Samuel Osborn's field a number of my acquaintances who were standing near to a considerable number of persons on horseback and viewing them, and the different movements of the army; I joined in with them. It was now a time of some seriousness and alarm among them—the battle had commenced in earnest—little was to be heard but the firing of the musketry and the roaring of cannon from the parties. It appeared that those on horseback were some of the principal officers of the British army with their aids, who had collected together to consult respecting carrying on the engagement to the best advantage. Among them was General Howe. He was mounted on a large English horse much reduced in flesh, I suppose from their being so long confined on board the fleet between New York and the head of the Chesapeake Bay, which was about six weeks, occasioned by contrary winds, &c. The general was a large, portly man, of coarse features. He appeared to have lost his teeth, as his mouth had fallen in. As I stood alongside I had a full opportunity of viewing him as he sat on horseback, and had to observe his large legs and boots, with flourishing spurs thereon. While the officers were in consultation, and we viewing them together with the smoke issuing from the cannon and musketry, we heard a tremendous roaring of cannon, and saw the volume of smoke arising therefrom at Chadd's ford. General Knyphausen having discovered that the engagement was on with the front of Howe's army at the meeting house, he immediately forced the troops under his command across the Brandywine, and the whole of General Washington's army in that station were routed from their breastworks and the different positions which they had taken to impede the march of the British. From these circumstances General Washington concluded it prudent to effect a retreat which took place accordingly. While we remained on Osborne's hill, we had the opportunity of making many observations—the engagement of both armies—the fields in front of us containing great heaps of blankets and baggage, thrown together to relieve the men for action—the regular march of the British army, consisting of horse and foot, artillery, baggage and provision wagons, arms and ammunition, together with a host of plunderers and rabble that accompanied the army. Almost the whole face of the country around appeared to be covered and alive with those objects. Their march continued about four hours.

We remained on the hill for some time, and when the engagement appeared to be nearly over, or at least that part of it which

was in view, and the day being on the decline, we were about retiring; but as admiration and curiosity had been the order of the day, I proposed to some of my companions that we should go over to the field of battle and take a view of the dead and wounded, as we might never have such another opportunity. Some of them consented, and others with some reluctance yielded. We hastened thither and awful was the scene to behold—such a number of fellow beings lying together severely wounded, and some mortally—a few dead, but a small proportion of them considering the immense quantity of powder and ball that had been discharged. It was now time for the surgeons to exert themselves, and divers of them were busily employed. Some of the doors of the meeting house were torn off and the wounded carried thereon into the house to be occupied for an hospital, instead of the American sick for which it had been repairing some days previous.

The wounded officers were first attended to—several of distinction had fallen, and as every thing appeared to be in a state of confusion, and we being spectators and assistance required, some of our number, at the request of the surgeons, became active in removing them therein—of whom I was one. I should have been willing to have been informed who they were, but it was not a time for inquiry, and I do not recollect to have heard the name of one of them mentioned at that time. After assisting in carrying two of them into the house I was disposed to see an operation performed by one of the surgeons, who was preparing to amputate a limb, by having a brass clamp or screw fitted thereon, a little above the knee joint, he had his knife in his hand, the blade of which was of a circular form, and was about to make the incision, when he recollects that it might be necessary for the wounded man to take something to support him during the operation. He mentioned to some of his attendants to give him a little wine or brandy to keep up his spirits, to which he replied, "No, doctor, it is not necessary, my spirits are up enough without it." He then observed, "that he had heard some of them say there was some water in the house, and if there was he would like a little to wet his mouth." As I was listening to the conversation and waiting for the water to arrive, one of my companions caught me by the arm and mentioned that it was necessary to go out immediately, as they were fixing the Picquet Guards, and if we did not get away in a few minutes we should have to remain within the lines of encampment during the night. I instantly complied, and we saved our distance, and were at liberty to return home.

The dusk of the evening was then on, and we set out, being twelve or fifteen in number, two of whom had started earlier and were some distance before us, and I suppose we were all under the erroneous idea that from what had passed during the day, there was not the probability of an American under arms in the whole neighbourhood. But in this we were grossly deceived, for the

two persons aforesaid who had started early were talking rather freely on the defeat of the American army in the course of the afternoon, and were overheard by a scouting party which had been following the rear of the British army during the day. They were posted in a field on an eminence and viewing the movements of the British in the evening after the battle was over. They found it necessary to hail the two gentlemen, who had been and were then taking such liberties, but as no answer was returned they repeated their call, which continuing to be the case, one of them without further hesitation or ceremony fired upon them. The ball penetrated the thigh of one of them, S. K.,* and he fell.

They then rode off and were discovered travelling up the public road that led to our dwellings. The report of the musket was heard by some of our number who were behind, and that not without serious apprehensions, not knowing what it could mean. When we arrived at the place where the circumstance happened, we were informed of the particulars, and that a kind neighbour, Richard Strode, had assisted in carrying the wounded man into a small house, where he lay groaning and lamenting in a most grievous manner.

It would be difficult to express our feelings on this occasion. We were all panic struck, not knowing but what it might be our fate, or perhaps we might fare worse in a few minutes. We felt our imprudence or inconsiderate conduct with great force, and the novelties of the day were now damped. To move forward was terrifying—to remain where we were would be no small punishment under existing circumstances. Some of us had left our families, consisting only of a few females and children, and we knew not what dreadful events might have taken place in our absence. Imagination was worked up to a great height, and our fears were as great as we could bear, such was the dilemma that we were in. I considered that it had overbalanced all we had seen, and was now without remedy. A consultation was now held and we found ourselves surrounded with difficulties—to pursue the public road home was dangerous, from the expectation that the aforementioned scouting parties or others of the military were lying in wait for us, and that we might be fired upon or otherwise taken up, and carried before the prevailing power to answer for our conduct. If we attempted to return through the fields, we were apprehensive we might be met by some of the military, and more guilt would appear than if we went boldly along the road. We were two miles from home, and the moon having got up, the night was clear and bright and remarkably still, so that every movement could be discovered at a distance. After various projects being suggested, we finally resolved to take the nearest way home, which was through divers fields and woods, from a hope that there would be less danger and risque of being detected. Coming to

* Simon Kerns.

this conclusion before we set out, that no conversation should take place on the way, or observations made that would be unfavorable, provided we should be overheard. We accordingly commenced our route and reached our dwellings at a late hour of the night without molestation or alarm, except in one instance, when climbing over a fence on the way, we surprised a flock of sheep which lay alongside taking their repose—they started and ran off as if their worst enemy were in close pursuit of them. Our fears were up in an instant, not knowing but that those whom we so much dreaded were close at hand.

We found all safe and undisturbed when we arrived at home, but met with a severe reproof from one of our sisters for having taken such liberties, and given way to idle curiosity, which might have involved ourselves and family in great difficulty and distress, saying that for her part she had no wish or desire to see one person in the whole British army. I was satisfied with the correctness of her observation, but it was now too late to be remedied. I can say for myself I do not recollect ever to have felt a more thankful heart to the great Author of my existence than I did after I retired to bed, though I knew not what might be the consequences of that day's expedition when it came to be known that we had shown such an attachment to and familiarity with the enemies of our country, and which the American forces were contending against, and over whom, under the assistance of a protecting Providence, they finally prevailed, which event was the introduction and establishment of a great and powerful nation.

APPENDIX.

Having, in the foregoing, given some account of the engagement and adventures of one day, the memorable 11th of September, 1777, I shall now proceed to give some further account of what took place shortly thereafter. The British army remained on the ground of encampment at Birmingham, until the third day of the week following, being the 16th of the month, having in the course of that time removed all their wounded that survived to the borough of Wilmington, (at that time in their possession,) amounting to $11\frac{1}{2}$ wagon loads. They on that day commenced their further march for the city—having formed two divisions, one of which, commanded by General Knyphausen, proceeded by way of Chester, and the other, being the grand one under the command of General William Howe, who proceeded direct to the Swedes' foid on Schuylkill, and after marching through a severe day's rain, they encamped the following night on the south side of the valley hill and around the Boot tavern, at which house the general had his head quarters.

The ground which they had lately occupied at Birmingham

being now clear, and left in a desolate condition, exhibited a scene of destruction and waste. Some few of the inhabitants who remained thereon, and some others who were returning to their respective places of abode, found it necessary to call in the assistance of their neighbours, to re-bury many of the dead who lay exposed to the open air, and destruction of beasts and wild fowls, having (in consequence of the late heavy rains) been washed bare, and some few of them had never been interred. I was among a number who attended and performed that duty.

It would be difficult to describe the many cases of horror and destruction of human beings that came under our notice in this undertaking, but we accomplished it, though in many instances of a most disagreeable and unpleasant nature. During the performance of it, we had a full opportunity of beholding the destruction and wanton waste committed on the property of the peaceable inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and on the ground of encampment. Those who were obliged to remain thereon, had their stock of cattle destroyed for the use of the army—their houses taken away, and their household furniture, bedding, &c., wantonly wasted and burned. It was not uncommon to see heaps of feathers laying about the farms, the ticks having been stripped off and made use of, and the remains or small pieces of valuable furniture which lay about their fire places in the fields unconsumed, when there was no want of timber and fence rails that might have been used for their cooking, &c.; but being in an enemy's country, inhabited by rebels, there was no restraint on the soldiery or rabble who accompanied them.

Having made mention that the meeting house at Birmingham had been taken out of our possession by the Americans, in order to accommodate the sick soldiers, it so turned out that before they occupied it for that purpose, General Howe had the control of it for the use of his wounded officers, and when vacated, and the army removed, Friends were at liberty to cleanse and purify, which was so far done that we held one meeting in it on the First day following after their departure, but considerable repairs were necessary afterwards, to place it in the condition it was in previous to our being deprived of it. During their occupancy of it several of the principal officers died, and were interred in the burial ground adjoining. One of them said to be a near connection of the Duke of Northumberland, a young man by the name of Percy.*

* There is a tradition that Lord Percy was killed in this battle. This is an error. Hugh Earl Percy, afterwards second Duke of Northumberland, who commanded at the battle of Lexington, and was engaged in the reduction of Fort Washington, left America previously to the battle of Brandywine, and died in England on the 10th of July, 1817, at the age of 74. See Playfair's Fam. Antiq.: 1st vol. p. 161. Gent. Mag. for July, 1817.

SKETCH OF SQUIRE THOMAS CHEYNEY.

BY JOHN HICKMAN, JR., ESQ., OF WEST CHESTER.

The name of Thomas Cheney, familiarly known as Squire Cheyney, is connected with some of the most important incidents of the Battle of Brandywine. He has been mentioned by many of those who have written concerning that engagement, still from all that has been published, but little can be known of the true character of the man.

His parents, John and Ann Cheyney, were emigrants from England, and settled in Thornbury, Chester county. Thomas, the subject of this sketch, was their oldest child, and was born in this country, Dec. 12, 1731. There were four other children, John, Joseph, Mary and Richard. In person, Thomas was strong and athletic, with black hair, black eyes, and a complexion so dark that it was often jokingly said of him that he had been suckled by a squaw. His height was 5 feet 9 inches, and his weight 190 pounds. In character, he was an American, prudent, sagacious, resolute and brave. Through a long life his veracity was never doubted, and his honesty was proverbial. In short, he was one of those revolutionary patriots whose devotion to his country was unwavering, whose affection for it exceeded all ties of home and kindred, and whose example should be handed down to posterity as one worthy of emulation.

His father was a Friend, and his mother a Presbyterian, but his antipathy to the Friends was so very strong that he caused a burial place to be erected on his own farm, lest his ashes might commingle with theirs. He was twice married, and the father of nine children. He was living with his second wife at the time of the war. She too was on the side of her country, and like many of our grandmothers of revolutionary memory, exerted her every energy to aid her husband in all his plans.

His son Richard served in the American army, but his brothers and brother-in-law, were all in the British interest, and oft repeated and earnest were their entreaties to their elder brother to join them against the "rebels." But their entreaties, backed as they were with foreign gold, were unavailing. His course was onward, for he had made his choice. And though the land of his birth, the country of his affection, appeared on all sides in imminent danger of subjugation, yet his prophetic vision seemed to penetrate the dark and settled gloom that enshrouded it, and

his heart was buoyed up with the sunny thought of "liberty and independence," feeling strong in the confidence that both alike would one day be his country's glory.

His active service in the war commenced on the day of the Battle of Brandywine. For a long time he had been watching with intense interest the movements of the conflicting armies. On this day whilst wending his way along the banks of the river, at the distance of a mile or more from Brandywine, he accidentally came upon the British army. He was ascending a high hill and when he had reached the summit, he found himself within less than an hundred yards of the enemy. They immediately pursued and fired upon him, but he rode a mare that on more than one occasion signalled herself for her fleetness, and he thus escaped. He immediately hurried to the spot occupied by Washington, and breathless with impatience, demanded access to the general. He was denied his request, but his manner became so impetuous, that it was finally granted. When admitted into the presence of Washington, he informed him that he must instantly move or he would be surrounded, that the main body of the British was coming down on the east side of the stream, and was near at hand. Washington replied, that he had received recent intelligence of their movements, and that it could not be so. Cheyney, replied, "you are mistaken general, my life for it, you are mistaken," and with great vehemence added, "by h---l it is so, put me under guard until you find my story true." He then drew a draft of the road in the sand. Washington became satisfied, and imminately moved on to the high ground at the Meeting House, at which place they had scarcely arrived before the enemy came up. Thus the first authentic information of the direction of the British army on that day, which Washington received, was from Squire Cheyney.

The history of that hurried, unequal, and disastrous battle is familiar to all; yet it damped not the energies of Cheyney, there was fuel added to the fire in his soul that day, that urged him on with redoubled zeal. Henceforth he left all and devoted himself to the service of his country. He was ever on the alert, and by keeping the movements of the enemy in his eye, materially aided Washington by imparting to him the information thus acquired. This course he continued during all the time Washington was encamped in this section of country.

He was early suspected for a spy by the British, and as many stratagems were resorted to to entrap him, he was frequently in great jeopardy. They watched his house, and frequently entered and examined it. On one occasion, it is believed, he made his escape through the chimney. For weeks at a time he could not venture home; on such occasions he would sometimes visit a neighboring house, where his wife, patient sharer of his adversity

would meet him and impart to him such information as she had acquired during his absence, and administer to him the magic cordial of deep heart felt sympathy. During a part of the winter of '78, he disguised himself as a day laborer, and in such disguise was frequently asked if he could tell where Cheyney secreted himself.

Squire Cheyney served as a Justice of the Peace before, during, and after the war; and portions of his dockets, which still exist, show that he caused many to be arrested for treason, and for carrying stores to the British army whilst in Philadelphia. A man by the name of Pennell, hired one Crossby for a bushel of salt, then an item of some value, to decoy Cheyney into the hands of the British, which he failed to accomplish, and after the termination of the war, Pennell sued him for the price of the salt before the Squire himself. It is not certainly known what his judgment was.

He was possessed of an unusual share of sound discriminating common sense, a trait of character often uncongenial to poesy—yet, like the Patriarchs of old, providence revealed to him, as by a vision of the night, the future success of his country, and poetry lent her aid in the expression of it. One night, whilst Washington was encamped at Valley Forge, suffering all the horrors of want, Cheyney had a dream. He awoke soon after, rose from his bed, and wrote it down. The paper was preserved in the family for some time, but was eventually lost. His son William having impressed it upon his memory, it was again reduced to writing with the exception of the third stanza which he could not recall. He imagined himself sitting in a strange room, near a table spread with costly articles of American manufacture, in the centre of which stood a splendid decanter filled with wine, and that after the company had seated themselves at the table, the decanter sang the following song.

1. Cheerful spirits here we'll stay
And guard against despotic sway;
Though Britain's numerous, frightful fleet,
Makes ocean groan beneath its weight,
And guns and drums cry out so loud
To appease the vengeance of their lord,
Yet America will be free—
Yet America will be free!

2. Tho' vassal powers them aid afford,
And demons crowd their council board,
Yet Innocence will raise its cry
And rend the cloud that shrouds the skies,
And mercy will her aid afford,
And confound their council board.
Then America will be free—
Then America will be free !

- * * * *
4. The russians return in vile disgrace—
Shame and confusion man each face,
And when before their Lord they come
They're struck with disappointment dumb—
Begone ye scoundrel, paltry knaves
You yourselves are the greater slaves,
Since America will be free—
Since America will be free!

Squire Cheyney lived to an advanced age. He was buried on his own farm, where his father settled when he first came to the country, about three hundreds yards north east of what is called "the shops," and within a few yards of the spot where the house stood in which he was born. There too may be seen the grave of his faithful wife, who lived to realize with him for many happy years the blessings his prophetic vision portrayed.

INSCRIPTION ON HIS TOMB.

"Sacred to the memory of

THOMAS CHEYNEY,

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE,

January 12, 1811.

Aged 79 years and 1 month."

The Cheyney property has never passed out of the family. It is now owned and occupied by Thomas W. Cheyney, a grandson of the Squire, and an inheritor of his virtues.

on the Brandywine

THE VILLAGE OF NEWTON IN PENNSYLVANIA
ON THE BRANDYWINE



P R E F A C E.

In laying these documents before the world, the Historical Society has no other purpose than that of fulfilling the chief, if not sole object of its existence—that of collecting and preserving the materials for the history of the State of Pennsylvania. In carrying out this design, it may sometimes happen that they lay open matters of private history—reflecting somewhat too strongly on private character; and appear to bring back unnecessarily the display of envy and hostility, and all those bitter feelings which follow in the track of every distinguished career. In the present instance, it might be inferred, that we had ransacked the archives and recesses of family papers, to renew old and forgotten scandal, and revive the current of past calumny—to refresh old animosities, and throw doubt over the conduct and reputation of individuals, on whom both time and history had passed their sentence, and fixed the fame. But these papers are now placed in charge of a public body at Portsmouth, N. H. for the unreserved examination of all who felt an interest in the period or the events to which they refer. Portions of them had been before published, and in fighting over once more the battle of Brandywine, it was impossible to do it fully and satisfactorily, without meeting the charges that were made against Gen. Sullivan, by his contemporaries, of being the chief cause of the loss of that battle. It was the wish of the society, that he should make his own defence—that, if possible, every thing said against him at the time, and every thing offered in his favour, should go before the world together; that every rebuke and reproof, of which he received no small amount, should be softened or established, and every charge proved to be a calumny, or verified and vindicated. To do this, it was absolutely necessary, that all should be published without reserve, so that every one, at any time, may, by an examination, make up his opinion. Our own impression was decidedly against

the first time, and the first time I had seen it, I was very much struck by its beauty. It is a small tree, with a slender trunk, and a spreading crown, which is composed of a few large, spreading branches, and a number of smaller ones, all bearing a profusion of flowers. The flowers are white, and are produced in clusters, hanging down from the branches. The leaves are small, and are arranged in whorls along the stem. The bark is smooth, and is a light brown color. The trunk is straight, and is about two inches in diameter. The roots are well developed, and are spreading out at the base of the tree. The tree is growing in a clearing, and is surrounded by other trees and shrubs. The sky is clear, and the sun is shining brightly. The overall impression is one of a healthy, well-established tree.

Gen. Sullivan on that occasion. From an intimacy with every field, wood, and by-path, near where the battle was fought, we could form no excuse for him, in not having discovered the British, before they came suddenly on his troops near Birmingham Meeting House. This impression (we were, in our ignorance of military matters, unwilling to let it harden into a fixed opinion) has been, if not altogether removed, yet very much weakened, by his statement in the letter to Gov. Langdon; that he only arrived on the ground on the evening before the battle, and that his light horse were at a distance, and not available. It is for military men to decide on the importance of this apology—but admitting it, so far as to relieve him—there still appears blame to be attached somewhere and to some one. The fords of the Brandywine, were all so near to the American troops, and so accessible, that it is very difficult, not to pass censure on some one. The roads were the same then, as now; and a single individual placed on them, near the several fords, would have done as well, for the discovery of the British, as a troop. But it appears, that the existence of a ford above Buffington's, within the distance of twelve miles, was not known to the American Commander; at least, he heard some one state to Gen. Washington that no such ford existed, and without any examination, took it for granted. This apology, he offers, of ignorance, does not now avail; as, from Dr. Darlington's letter, it appears, that a body of the British crossed at a ford, now known as Wistar's, a mile or more nearer to Sullivan than Buffington's. He was ordered, according to his own statement, to guard every ford as far up the creek as that crossing place. If this had been done, he would have had sufficient notice of the approach of the British; have been enabled to check the small body, crossing at Wistar's ford; given notice to Genl. Washington, and allowed him to bring his whole force to meet the enemy at Birmingham Meeting House; or perhaps at some point near the river; for Howe, with the main body, crossed at Jefferis' ford, two miles or more above Wistar's; and no doubt, was several miles distant, with very fatigued troops, at the time a portion of his army crossed at the ford last mentioned. This fact, which was not before known, places the charge of delinquency and great negligence on some one; for it was only the second ford above Genl. Sullivan's post, and one he was ordered



to guard ; and we know not how, safely and satisfactorily, to get over this unfortunate fact ; it is a very strong and intractable obstacle in the way of admitting excuses. One fact, that has given a great deal of trouble to our historians, is settled by the active examination of our Recording Secretary, during a visit, the last autumn, to the neighborhood of the battle ground. No one has ever been able before, to discover what was the ford, called "Buffington's" by Sullivan. It appears to have been—as gathered from the information of one, now alive—the ford, now known as Caleb Brinton's, about a hundred yards above the "forks" on the East Branch; and a mile or more below Jeffries' ford; so that, as we get along in our researches, we find less and less apology for the English not being discovered, before they crossed in force, at Jeffers' ford ; when, as it is now, for the first time, we believe, made known, that they crossed in small bodies, at two fords, below, and nearer to, Sullivan, than that; making it very difficult to understand how this could happen, without a most culpable negligence, or a degree of helplessness, from a deficiency of force, that made it an absurdity to hazard a conflict with the enemy at all. Washington, in his letter to the President of Congress, written at Chester, the night of the battle, uses this language: "Unfortunately, the intelligence received of the enemy's advancing up the Brandywine and crossing at a ford, about six miles above us, was uncertain and contradictory, notwithstanding all my pains to get the best. This prevented me from making a disposition, adequate to the force with which the enemy attacked on the right; in consequence of which, the troops first engaged, were obliged to retire before they could be reinforced." This "deficiency of force" was no doubt the immediate cause of Sullivan's being beaten ; but it, in no way, relieves this officer from the charge of not having properly guarded the fords. The extracts from the letter are a very good excuse for Genl. Washington's not sending more troops to Birmingham Meeting House ; but they form no apology for Genl. Sullivan's not knowing that the enemy had crossed the fords, and the probable amount of their force. But there is a better reason for this defeat, than negligence, deficient force, or any other apology ; and one, that neither Washington nor Sullivan, mentions ; which is, the superiority of the British troops to the American. The one was an army

well appointed and highly disciplined ; a large part of the other, a mere militia levy. At that time, there might be good reason for concealing this circumstance ; lest it might discourage the hope of the people of America, as to the ultimate result of the contest. Now, there can be no feeling stirred, but admiration ; that men, from love of their country, should leave their homes and peaceful occupations to fight the finest troops of the most powerful nation of the world. When this is considered, nearly all the disasters of the American arms, become victories, from Lexington and Bunker Hill, to the last struggle of the revolution.

But we must be gentle with the memories of those, who served their country in the war of the revolution. It was a period far too trying, to allow of our judging men as on ordinary occasions. The conflict was one of principles. Men struggled and fought, not for fame, or power, but for right, justice, and liberty—which, in their opinion, the conduct of the British government tended to encroach on, and put down. In such circumstances, we must look to purity of motive, rather than to one's good or ill fortune ; and, tried in this way, we shall find strong and ready apology, for many things, that might else receive our censure or our contempt. In the case of the individual before us, no one for a moment doubts his devotion to the cause, in which he was so earnestly and honourably engaged. No one imputes to him more than negligence, perhaps not altogether culpable, and too easy and ready a reliance on the assertions of those, who, in the condition of feeling of that part of the country, might have been very properly suspected of intention to mislead. But, in the minds of all, who shall examine this period of our revolutionary history, all, perhaps, except military critics, it will be sufficient to say that Genl. Sullivan did not lose by his conduct in this battle, the good opinion of him whose moral sense was too elevated to vindicate misconduct ; whose sense of justice and of the deep responsibilities under which he was acting, was too strong to admit to any farther confidence, or to continue in eminent positions, one who had forfeited all claims to his consideration, by ignorance of his duty, or misconduct. To be candid, it seems rather singular that in this affair, as in many others in which Genl. Sullivan was unfortunate, the whole blame was charged to him. He was unfortunate in a facility of making enemies. On every occasion, abuse was let loose upon

him without mercy, and in this, it seems pretty clear that the endeavour was not only to ruin him in Washington's opinion, for the purpose of putting forward St. Clair, but that there was a jealousy of Washington himself. But Washington does not appear for a moment to have deserted Sullivan. Though his own fame was injured by the ill success of those he commanded, yet he never allowed the clamours and aspersions of their enemies to screen him, or to inflict injury and injustice on those he regarded as innocent. His probity and sense of honour did not admit of his increasing his own fame by ruining the reputation of others; nor would he allow cabal or faction to strike through their character at him, whom they dared not to insult. E.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.

Camp at Whitemarsh, Nov. 9th, 1777.

MUCH RESPECTED SIR,—Since my last, enclosing you the evidence of my conduct, in the late actions of Staten Island and Brandywine, with the account of my conduct in general since I had the honour to serve in the army, I have been honoured with the enclosed resolve of Congress, and with a letter from the President, which I also enclose. This testimony of the approbation of that august assembly, must sufficiently repair the injuries my character has sustained by the malicious attacks that have been made upon it, especially when it is known that I laid before Congress all the evidence of my conduct, in the affair of Staten Island, as also the evidence upon every other point, that has been urged against me. This will supersede the necessity of publishing many of the papers, which I have taken the freedom to lay before the General Assembly of New Hampshire. I have therefore only to beg that the Court will do me the honour to examine the papers, and if they are clearly of opinion that I have been injured, they will, as a mark of their approbation of my conduct, order that the proceedings and results of the Court of Inquiry be published, with the letter from the President of the honourable Continental Congress, and with the resolution inclosed therein, and the certificate of his Excellency and the other officers, respecting my conduct at the battle of Brandywine, as also the addresses of the officers of my Division, with the address of the officers I had the honour to command in Canada; and that the whole may be accompanied by this letter. I am sorry to inform the honourable Assembly that my enemies, not content with having unjustly and even without the least colour, censured my conduct on Staten Island, proceed to urge against me the following points:

1st. That I was several days posted on the right wing of the army, previous to the battle of Brandywine.

2nd. That I was early in the day cautioned by the Commander-in-Chief to be particularly attentive to the enemy's motions, which he supposed would attempt to cross higher up the creek; and that I was furnished with light troops for that purpose, and that I suffered them to come upon me by a route I never expected.

3rd. That I conveyed false intelligence to the General, which caused them to alter his disposition, and brought on a defeat.

4thly. That when my mistake was at length discovered, I brought up my troops by a circuitous march, and in disorder from which they never recovered.

5thly. That my officers complained bitterly of my evil conduct, which was always productive of misfortunes to the army, and that they had lost all manner of confidence in me.

6thly. That I have not sufficient talents for my rank and office, which has been the source of my repeated misfortunes.

To the first, second, and third of these, I oppose the certificate of the Commander-in-Chief, who well knows, though I came upon the ground but the day before the action, that I had neither light troops to scour the country, or orders to watch higher up than the fords my troops possessed; which, when I received my orders, I heard the man who was giving a description of the country say, were the only fords within twelve miles of our army. And the light horse of our army were all ordered to the right of my post; and the enemy crossed far above where I had any orders to attend to.

To the fourth article I can only say that when I received orders to march, I marched in the most direct road for the enemy, and met them in a mile from the place where I had been before posted with my out guards flying before them. But for this and the rest of my conduct in the action, I refer the honorable Court to the testimonies respecting that battle.

The fifth article is so contrary to the testimonies before referred to, and to the unanimous declaration of my officers, that I would not wish to call it by the name it evidently deserves. The sixth article is also so flatly denied and contradicted by the officers I now have the honour to command, that I need say but little on the subject. But to remove every doubt on this head, you have the officers among you, with whom I had the honour to serve. There are a great number of them holding high military offices in the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut. I most cheerfully submit my reputation to their candid opinion.

I cannot help making some farther remarks upon the two last articles, as I am so much at a loss to know what misfortunes have been brought upon our army. It is well known that I was far from having a hand in the misfortunes that attended the loss of Fort Washington and Fort Lee. The destruction of the army in Canada I had no hand in. But if the written testimony of the officers is attended to, it will appear that I had a principal hand in saving the remains of it.

As to my repeated ill success and misfortunes, I will venture to repeat them as they are well known.

I had the misfortune to make the first advances towards the enemy at Cambridge, and maintain my ground against all the

cannonade and bombardment. I had the misfortune to save a wretched army and all the public stores, in Canada. I had the misfortune, on Long Island, with four hundred men, to combat with the greater part of the British army for near three hours, having been surrounded, by the enemy's coming by a route which I often predicted, and which I had previous to Gen. Putnam's coming over and taking the command from me, paid fifty dollars to horsemen to patrol. I was so persuaded of the enemy's coming the route, that I went to examine, and was surrounded by the British army, and after a long and severe engagement, was made prisoner. I had the misfortune to attack and carry Trenton with my division, before I received any kind of assistance, and to be selected to attack Princeton soon after, and left with my division to deal with the 40th and 55th regiments, while the rest of the army engaged and routed the 17th. I then had the misfortune to cover the retreat of our army before the enemy when they were close at our heels. I afterwards had the misfortune, with my division to cover the country from the enemy during the most of the winter, and to keep the enemy within their lines, though they were at least ten times my number. I had the misfortune on Staten Island to rout six regiments, kill and capture a large number, and destroy their large quantities of stores, vessels, etc., and suffered the loss only of a hundred and fifty men, most of whom suffered by their own imprudence.

The enclosed testimonies will show you that at the battle of Brandywine I had the misfortune, after my own division was broke by being attacked before they were formed, to attack myself and take command of every other corps that would stand by me, to oppose the enemy till night, and posted the troops myself, which so bravely covered the retreat of our army.

At Germantown, I had the misfortune to drive the enemy upwards of a mile with my own division before I received assistance, and after that through the day to have the severity of the action, and though the enemy made a stand at every wall and hedge and fence, we drove their left wing-near three miles great part of the time, shouldered arms and charged bayonets. My division being at length left with part of Gen. Conway's brigade unsupported by any other troops, with scarcely a cartridge left, having in a severe fire of three hours, expended the whole, we were at length obliged to quit the field.

These, sir, are the misfortunes which have attended me in the army. I can recollect none that I have brought upon it, unless the providing them with arms, ammunition, &c., at Cambridge, or influencing men to enlist in the service, and others to remain after their terms were expired, may be denominated such. You have officers among you who know all the facts above mentioned, except the three last, and of these you have the evidence enclosed



in my former letter. I readily agree that our army has been often unfortunate, and as I always fought with it, have shared in the general misfortunes. Perhaps those who carefully avoid action, have been less unfortunate, but I challenge any person to produce an instance of my being unfortunate or unsuceessful when I had the sole command. Those infamous detractors have charged me with misfortunes when I most violently opposed every measure that produced them. And lest this should not answer their purpose, they have charg d me with evils that never existed. Perhaps I might enumerate instances where my services have been of great advantage to the army—but if I have convinced the honourable Assembly that I have in no instance injured the army, I have no desire to make a merit of my services. I look upon everything I have done or can do, as a debt due from me to my country, and I can venture to assert that no man takes more pleasure in discharging his duty to his country than, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

The Honorable John Langdon, Esquire.

Extract of a letter from James Lovell, Member of Congress from Mass., to Gen. Whipple; dated Sept. 17th, 1777.

(From the Papers of Gov. Langdon.)

As to the affair at Brandywine last Thursday, I doubt whether you will ever accurately know whether fortune alone is to be blamed, or whether Sullivan and the chief should not share with her in the slandering murmurs. Knowledge of the enemy's intentions on the right wing of our army, was certainly wanting. General Washington and some good military men, especially the highest officers, do not charge the want to Sullivan. But, as he was under the order of Congress, for a Court of Enquiry as to Staten Island, the Maryland officers in his division, the delegates of that state, the great Burk, the friend of St. Clair, and the connexions of Schuyler, accomplished to cast such reflections upon his want of capacity to direct a wing of our army on this critical day, that a majority, after first demolishing old De Borre, effected the resolve to recall Sullivan, till his conduct should be inquired into, as per former order. You are to take with you that an attempt to send St. Clair to join this army had been baffled. Agreeably to the prophecy of the minority, the Commander in Chief has written in the most pressing manner, for a suspension of the order of recall; which being carried, Ch—e moved that a direction might go to put the Maryland troops under some other M. Gl—, which would have been in effect throwing out S——n; for the soldiers of other divisions would be unwilling to serve under a man discarded by Marylanders, if the

Generals would consent to exchange. R—d joined, and had the Delaware inserted with Maryland. But those states were the only yeas, which, agreeable to modern petty practice, were booked with the nays, by the request of McD. The foreign officers showed themselves to great advantage in the battle. Brevets are given to De Coudray and all his officers, he having modestly for once, asked a Captain's for himself, and Lieutenant's for his attendants. On crossing the Schuylkill his horse leaped out of the boat with him, who was foolishly in the saddle,—and so was drowned yesterday. Count Pulaski, who headed the Poles, is now commander of our cavalry, having first signalized himself greatly in the battle of Brandywine. Baron de Kalb, who speaks English well, and has been in Pennsylvania formerly, and who, in manners and looks, resembles our Chief, is made a Major General.

The intention of the enemy is to gain upon our right wing, but I think we are so posted, as to render it impossible. The Lancaster Road *must* be so perfect a clay pit, that no cannon can move in it for some days after the present very heavy rain.

Camp near Fatland Ford, Sept. 20th, 1777.

DEAR SIR:—In answer to your favour and request of yesterday, I wish it was in my power to give you the complete satisfaction you desire—but, how is it possible? I saw nothing of the disposition you had made, not getting up till the action was, in a manner, over; and then employed in hurrying on a reinforcement, and looking out fresh ground to form the troops on, which, by this time, were beginning to give way.

To certify what I have heard this or that officer say, respecting your conduct, could answer no valuable purpose, nor the end you have in view. Some have condemned your disposition, though time perhaps would not allow a better, but none have accused you of want of bravery, and exertion, that I have heard of.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,
GEO. WASHINGTON.

DEAR SIR:—I have just received your letter requesting a Court of Enquiry to-morrow or next day which I most readily agree to, provided the situation of the army renders it practicable, but this I much doubt, as I think it highly probable we shall march some distance to-morrow.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,
GEO. WASHINGTON.

Head Quarters, Tuesday Evening, 23d Sept. 1777.

Camp at Perkioming, October 6th, 1777.

DEAR SIR:—Since writing the letter which accompanies this, I

have had no opportunity of forwarding my papers to Congress, and beg leave to trouble Congress with some remarks upon the severe, and I think very unjust censure cast upon me respecting the intelligence sent by me to General Washington the day of the battle on Brandywine. I wish only to acquaint Congress with the facts. It was ever my opinion that the enemy would come round on our right flank. This opinion I often gave the General. I wrote him that morning that it was clearly my opinion. I sent him two messages to the same purpose in the forenoon, and the very first intelligence I received, that they were actually coming that way, I instantly communicated to him. After which the General sent me word to cross the Brandywine with my division and attack the enemy's left, while the army crossed below me to attack their right; this I was preparing to do, when Major Spear came to me and informed that he was from the upper country, that he had come in the road, where the enemy must have passed to attack our right, and that there was not the least appearance of them in that quarter, and added that Genl. Washington had sent him out for the purpose of discovering whether the enemy were in that quarter. The account was confirmed by a Sergeant Tucker of the Light Horse, sent by me on purpose to make discoveries, and had passed on as he said to Lancaster road. This intelligence did by no means alter my opinion which was founded not upon any knowledge I had of the facts, but upon an apprehension that General Howe would take that advantage which any good officer in his situation would have done. I considered, however, that if my opinion or the intelligence I had sent the General, had brought him into a plan of attacking the enemy on the advantageous heights they were possessed of, and a defeat should follow, that I should be justly censured for withholding from him part of the intelligence I had received, and thereby brought on the defeat of our army; I therefore sat down and wrote Major Spear's account from his own mouth and forwarded it to his Excellency by a light horseman, and ordered the Major to follow himself. I never made a comment or gave my opinion upon the matter. Col. Harrison, member from Virginia, is possessed of a copy of the letter as the General's aid-de-camps inform me. I beg Congress to see it, and then judge whether I could have been excused for withholding that intelligence merely because my opinion did not coincide with the declaration. Had the General crossed over; left his own advantageous post (when I considered to oppose an enemy in front,) and found the whole British army well posted in his front, and his army put to the rout, having a river unfordable in the rear, except in one or two places, and most of his troops pushed into it, which must have inevitably been the case if he was defeated; I say, if this had all happened (which was at least possible,) and he had afterwards

found out that I had received and withheld the intelligence, which might have prevented this misfortune, and demanded my reasons, I believe I never should have been able to give one which would be satisfactory to him, to Congress, or to the world.

I know it to be part of my duties to give him every intelligence I receive without withholding any part of it, because it does not coincide with my own opinion, and I as well know it is exceeding hard to be censured for doing my duty, which has been too much the case since I have been in the Army.

I must beg leave to make an observation upon the latter part of Colonel Price's testimony respecting the Staten Island Expedition, he gave it as his opinion, that one brigade should have recrossed where we crossed in the morning. When it is known that Gen. Smallwood had retreated two miles and a half from the fork of the road that leads there, in order to form a junction with me; that part of the enemy kept even with us all the way and the residue followed in his rear, that they were between him and the ferry, and on his flank; if he had been sent back it requires no great share of military knowledge to see the madness of separating my force, and sending one part to be first sacrificed, that the other might afterwards be cut to pieces with the greatest ease. I must add to this, that a tender lay near this place, which in ten minutes might have been completely possessed of the place, and had crossed at and have prevented all possibility of passing. What must have been the fate of this brigade, if I had ordered them over in that place, and marched the others off at the distance of eight miles, may easily be conceived. I have ever conceived it dangerous, when it remains doubtful whether the whole force under an officer's command is capable to combat and vanquish the enemy, to divide his force and send them by different routes and put it in the power of the enemy to follow either party with an assurance of their own superiority of numbers, and the certainty of the inferiority of the party they wish to destroy. I have been thus particular because I know some of my officers have censured my conduct because I did not adopt the plan mentioned by Col. Price. I hope Congress will excuse the length of my letters, as they will not in future be troubled with many letters from

Your most obedient servant,
JOHN SULLIVAN.

His Excellency, John Hancock, Esq.

York, October 12th, 1777.

SIR:—I was present at the action of Brandywine and saw and heard enough to convince me that the fortune of the day was injured by miscarriages where you commanded.

I understood you were several days posted with the command on the right wing, that you were cautioned by the Commander-in-Chief early in the day to be particularly attentive to the ene-

my's motions who he supposed would attempt to cross higher up the creek and attack your flank ; that you were furnished with proper troops for reconnoitring, and yet you were so ill informed of the enemy's motions that they came up at a time and by a route which you did not expect, that you conveyed intelligence to the Commander-in-Chief which occasioned his countermanding the disposition he had made for encountering them on the route by which, it afterwards appeared, they were actually advancing; that when at length the mistake was discovered you brought up your own division by an unnecessary circuit of two miles, and in the greatest disorder, from which they never recovered, but fled from the fire of the enemy without resistance. That the miscarriages on that wing made it necessary to draw off a great part of the strength from the centre, which exposed General Wayne to the superiority of the enemy.

I heard officers on the field lamenting in the bitterest terms, that they were cursed with such a commander, and I overheard numbers during the retreat, complain of you as an officer, whose evil conduct was for ever productive of misfortunes to the army.

From these facts I conclude that your duty as a General was not well performed. Otherwise the enemy's motions on the wing where you particularly commanded would not have been unknown to you during great part of the day of action. Nor could they have advanced by an unknown and unexpected route, for you ought to have made yourself well acquainted with the ground. Nor would you have brought up your troops by an unnecessary circuit, and in disorder, which exposed them to be surprised and broken.

I also concluded that the troops under your command had no confidence in your conduct, and from the many accounts I had officially received of your miscarriages, I conclude, and am still possessed of an opinion, that you have not sufficient talents for your rank and office, though I believe you have strong dispositions to discharge your duty well.

I consider it as one essential part of my duty to attend to the appointments of the army, and where I perceive that any so unqualified as I deem you to be, has got into a command, where incompetence may be productive of disasters and disgrace, it is my duty to endeavor to remove him. In discharge of this I gave to Congress all the information I was able, carefully distinguishing what I saw, what I heard, and from whom, as far as I was acquainted with persons. I urged your recall with all the force I could, and thought it, and still do think it necessary for the public good, because in all your enterprises, and in every part of your conduct, even as represented by yourself, you seem to be void of judgment and foresight in concerting, of deliberate vigor in executing, and of presence of mind under accidents and emer-



gencies—and from these defects seem to me arise your repeated ill success.

These seem to me to form the great essentials of a military character. Nor do I think you the only officer in our army who is deficient in them. Nor were my endeavors to free the army from insufficient officers intended to be confined to you. I scarcely know your person, and was not conscious of any injury from you—for a particular reason I should have had great pleasure in justly forming a better opinion of you, but no reason can induce me to overlook the defects of officers, on whom so much depends. Nor will any thing deter me from pursuing the measures suggested by my own judgment.

I have now related every thing which I acted with relation to you in Congress, together with my motives. I have set down my intelligence, and the opinion I gave concerning you. What kills you struggled for, what fires you sustained, I neither saw nor heard of. Your personal courage I meddle not with; I had no knowledge of it, and I was cautioned to say nothing unjust or unnecessary. My objection to you is want of sufficient talents, and I consider it as your misfortune, not fault; it is my duty, as far as I can, to prevent its being the misfortune of my country.

The purpose of this information is that you may indubitably know I gave Congress all the intelligence and opinions concerning you here set down, and then to ask you in direct terms if you mean the disrespectful expressions in your late letter to Congress, on the subject of your conduct at Brandywine, to be applied to me? If you did, sir, I must inform you, you are mistaken in the matter contained in those expressions; my demeanor was entirely void of parade and ostentation, and entirely simple and attentive. I did not gallop my horse at all, but when I attempted to rally some of your flying troops. The manner of these expressions, which I suppose you meant for wit and sarcasm, are as unbecoming the soldier as the gentleman, and inconsistent with that plain and dignified simplicity which ought to be the style of persons in either rank. Were quaint witicisms my talent, I should not

* * *

[EDMUND BURKE.]

The signature of this letter is wanting. The succeeding letter is endorsed as a copy of a letter to Mr. Burke.

Camp near White Marsh, Oct. 27th, 1777.

SIR,—I received your polite favour of the 12th inst., in consequence of which have enclosed in a letter to Congress, certificates from the Commander in Chief and the officers of my division, which totally contradict those points you have urged to Congress, and upon which you have formed so generous an opinion. If you are that candid person you intimate in some

parts of your letter, and wish to be convinced of your error, you may call on one of your colleagues for a copy of my last letter, and the papers enclosed, and you will have nothing left to support your opinion but that prejudice which I think your letter too plainly discovers.

As to your opinion of my military abilities, it can give me no uneasiness until you give me better evidence of your capacity to judge in matters of this nature. If you have set yourself upon clearing the army of officers who are unequal to the task, I have only to lament that some of the judges furnished by my country are so competent.

Your peremptory demand of an explanation of my letter to Congress, must be as peremptorily denied: so far as you are conscious the garment suits, I have no objection to your wearing it; that part which does not fit, you need not meddle with; but give me leave to assure you, it is not the last thing I shall say against those who have meddled with my character. As to my being within your reach, the fault must be your own. If I am not, perhaps no man in America is more easily found than myself, and I can assure you with truth, that when you appear in the character you promise, no man will be more rejoiced to see you than

Your humble servant,
JOHN SULLIVAN.

A true copy, Eustace, A. D. C.

I hereby certify that the foregoing are copies of letters contained in a collection of letters to Maj. Gen. John Sullivan, and deposited in the Library of the Portsmouth Athenæum.

JOHN L. HAYES.

Portsmouth, N. Hampshire, Nov. 30th, 1845.

*At Camp near Schuylkill, 23rd Feby, 1777.**

I do hereby declare, to have seen Major Gen'l Sullivan, in the battle between Brandywine and Birmingham's Meeting House, the 11th September, 1777.

1st. Rallying his men with great ardour.

2ndly. His endeavours being unsuccessful, I saw him at Ld. Stirling's Division, which was fighting upon the Hill.

3rdly. This Division Retreating, he try'd to rally some, and put them behind the fences.

4thly. This position not being attacked, he forms again, the troops near the road, behind a house, to the left of General Green's Division, where he fought till night, and where his horse got wounded.

* Thus in the original, but evidently a mistake for 1778.



I declare upon my Honour that he appear'd to behave like a brave and cool man.

FLEURY, Brigade Major.

To Major General SULLIVAN.

Camp near Pottsgrove, Sept'r 24, 1777.

In compliance with the request of General Sullivan, that I would mention what I saw of his behaviour at the action of Brandywine, on the 11th of this month, I declare when I saw him in the Engagement, (which was in the evening, about the time that General Weedon's Brigade was brought up to the right,) he appeared to me to behave with the greatest calmness and bravery; and at that time I had occasion to observe his behaviour, as I was then with General Washington, and heard General Sullivan tell him that all the superior officers of his Division had behaved exceedingly well; and after some other conversation with the General, General Sullivan, turning to me, requested I would ride up to General Weedon, and desire him to halt Colonel Spottswood's and Col. Stephens's Regiments in the ploughed Field, on our right, and form them there; which I did; and on my return I was informed that General Sullivan, while I was delivering his orders, had his horse shot under him.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINKNEY,
Col. of the 1st Contin'l Regim't of
So. Carolina.

Camp near White Marsh, Oct. 25th, 1777.

MUCH ESTEEMED SIR,—In a letter from Mr. Burk, member from North Carolina, dated the 12th inst., he informs me that he has represented to Congress that I was posted with the command on the right wing of our Army, previous to the battle of Brandywine.

2nd. That I was early in the day cautioned by the Commander in Chief to be particularly attentive to the enemy's motions, who he supposed would attempt to cross higher up the Creek: and that I was furnished with Light Troops for that purpose, which I neglected, and suffered to come upon me by a route I never expected.

3rd. That I conveyed false intelligence to the General, which caused him to alter his dispositions, and brought on a defeat.

4th. That when the mistake was at length discovered, I brought up my Troops by a circuitous march, and in a disorder from which they never recovered.

5th. That he heard my officers lamenting in the bitterest terms that they were cursed with such a Commander, whose evil conduct was ever productive of misfortune to the Army.



6th. That my Troops had no confidence in my conduct.

7th. That I had not sufficient talents for my rank and office; that I am void of judgment and foresight in concocting, of deliberate vigor in executing, and of presence of mind under accidents and emergencies,—from which has arisen my repeated ill success.

As the gentleman has been generous enough to acknowledge the several points he has urged against me, it becomes my duty to remove every impression from the minds of Congress which those assertions might have made; and I doubt not Congress will indulge me in it, while I treat with decency the gentleman who informs me that, as a member of that respectable body, he made those representations. As I wish freedom of speech ever to be maintained in that august assembly, I have the most sanguine hopes that the person whose conduct has been, by mistake of a member, misrepresented, may have every opportunity of removing the prejudice which those representations may have made.

As to the first of those, it was so far from being true, that I was never sent to the Lower Ford till the evening before the action—this was called Brenton's Ford. I was ordered to take post there with my main body, to send a guard to the next Ford, about a mile and half above me, another to Jones's Ford, one and half miles still higher up, and another to Buffenton's Ford, a mile above that, immediately upon my arrival. I detached the Delaware Regiment to the first Ford, one Battallion of Hazen's to Jones', and another to Buffenton's, when I received those orders, as I ever had been of opinion that the enemy would endeavour to turn our right. I inquired of His Excellency whether there were no Fords still higher up, to which the person who was then giving him information of the country replied, there is none within twelve miles; the roads leading to, and from which, are almost inaccessible. His Excellency also observed, that all the Light Horse of the Army were ordered on the right wing to give information; and of course I had no orders, or even hints, to look at any other places, but those before mentioned, nor had I Light Troops or Light Horsemen furnished for the purpose, nor will any person attempt to say it who knows the facts. I had but four Light Horsemen, two of which I kept at the upper Fords, to bring me intelligence. The others I kept to send intelligence to Head Quarters. But to this charge, as also to the second and third, which the gentleman has been pleased to exhibit against me, I offer in opposition His Excellency's Declarations, copy of which I enclosed, and Congress must soon see how void of foundation they are.

The fourth article of charge I have fully answered in my state of the affair of Brandywine.

As to the fifth and sixth articles of charge I can only say, that I think the gentleman much mistaken, as all the officers present in my division have signed the contrary, except part of the officers of Hazen's Regiment, the reason of which may easily be conceived. I take the opportunity of inclosing a copy of one from the third Maryland Regiment, but have not time to copy the others, to forward them by this opportunity. I think the gentleman had better take more pains to inform himself before he made the representation, as I am confident he cannot find three in my Division that would wish to be from under my Command, not even the writer of the letter against me, who is every day expressing his sorrow for being the author of it.

As to the seventh article, I can only observe that the gentleman's judgment is so far superior to all the Generals, and other Officers with whom I have served, and his opportunities of forming an opinion respecting my abilities so much greater, that I dare not attempt to contradict him, but leave him to enjoy what opinion of me he thinks proper. In addition to the evidence already sent to Congress, I beg leave to enclose another, from one of Lord Stirling's Aid de Camp's, just now come to hand. I shall conclude with some few remarks respecting my being repeatedly unfortunate. I am but too well convinced that our Army have been unfortunate, and as I am always in action with them, am compell'd to take my share of the misfortunes. Those who avoid being in actions, perhaps are less unfortunate than myself. There have been but two actions in which the main Army have been completely victorious, and I think in those I had a principal hand. I have never yet engaged separate from the Army, except on Staten Island, and I can by no means persuade myself that this was any thing less than an advantageous victory, though not so complete as I could wish, and even if it was not, the fault was not mine.

I know it has been generally reported that I commanded on Long Island when the actions happened there. This is by no means true; General Putnam had taken the command from me four days before the action; Lord Stirling commanded the main body without the lines; I was to have commanded under General Putnam within the lines. I was very uneasy about a road through which I had often foretold the enemy would come, but could not persuade others to be of my opinion. I went to the Hill near Flat Bush to reconnoitre the enemy, and, with a piquet of four hundred men, was surrounded by the enemy, who had advanced by the very road I had foretold, and which I had paid horsemen fifty dollars for patrolling by night, while I had the command, as I had no foot for the purpose, for which I was never reimbursed,

as it was supposed unnecessary. What resistance I made with those 400 men against the British Army, I leave to the officers who were with me to declare. Let it suffice for me to say, the opposition of the small party lasted from half past nine to twelve o'clock. I challenge any person to mention a single instance of my being unfortunate, except in common with the Army; without them I have done nothing, except on Staten Island. I hope Congress will not deem my scourging the enemy, and keeping them within their lines, during the course of last winter, with my Division alone, unfortunate, or my bringing safely the wretched Army out of Canada; which are the only separate commands I have ever had, where any thing important was to be done.

Thus, Sir, have I endeavoured to refute all that this gentleman has asserted concerning me; whether I have, or have not so done, Congress will judge. If I have removed every prejudice from their minds, which those groundless assertions have occasioned, I shall be happy;—if not, I must content myself with having endeavoured to do it, by the most open, fair, and impartial state of facts that I am capable of, and by giving every evidence in support of them that I could conceive was necessary.

I am, dear Sir, with much respect,

Your most obedient servant,

JNO. SULLIVAN.

His Excellency, JOHN HANCOCK.

P. S. The reason of the few Troops being on Long Island, was because it was generally supposed that the enemy's landing there was only a faint, to draw our Troops there, that they might the more easily possess themselves of New York. I have often urged, both by word and writing, that, as the enemy had doubtless both those objects in view, they would first try for Long Island, which commanded the other, and then New York (which was completely commanded by it) would fall of course. But in this I was unhappy enough to differ from almost every officer in the Army, till the event proved my conjectures were just.

J. S.

Camp New Hanover, Sept. 25, 1777.

SIR,—Your letter of the 24th instant has deprived me of the pleasure of doing an unsolicited favour, for antecedent to the reception of it, I had determined, so far as my influence, and knowledge of facts enabled me, to rescue your reputation from the undeserved calumny thrown upon you by the captious and ungenerous multitude. And to convince you, that my declarations are entirely uninfluenced by any thing which has passed between us, since the day of action, I have the further satisfaction to assure

you, that in retiring from the field, I more than once expressed the highest sense of your personal bravery, and great activity in rallying the troops.

With respect to the arrangement of the army, you must be sensible, it was out of my province to know by whom it was commanded, and, of course, on whose shoulders the censure, if any was incurred, ought to fall. But this circumstance may undoubtedly be ascertained from Lord Sterling, and other General officers in the field. As your division took its place in the line, after you had seen them, I always supposed it to be the result of council.

The enemy by good luck, or perhaps policy, made their attack before the intended disposition of your division, which in my opinion was remarkably advantageous, could be carried into execution. It was therefore rather to be considered as unfortunate, as ill-judged, and not to be laid at the door of any particular officer. But sir, whatever turns the scale of victory (by the by, let me digress to observe, that the victory was ours, and the ground the enemy's) whether accident or design—like the ancient usage of the Jews—some sacrifice must be made to the people, and it is not less frequent than to be lamented, that in the Military Department, the man who may have embarked every thing in the common bottom, and bravely, but without success, defended in person his country's cause, is more liable to become the victim than the fortunate coward or the clamorous pretender.

The place which I have the honour to hold in the army, naturally gave me the best opportunity of observing the behaviour of every general officer, in the centre of the line, and to my great concern, I saw you and Lord Sterling, with General Conway, from the commencement of the action, until you was deserted almost by every man, ride from right to left, encouraging and driving the soldiers to their duty, till the enemy were pouring a severe fire on both flanks, and pressing on with charged bayonets in front. Sometime before this, I thought you had exceeded the bounds, both of prudence and courage.

Be assured, sir, that I claim little merit in the above narration, for I defy any man who was a witness of your conduct, to gainsay it. Whatever others may say, must be the effect of caprice, or ungenerous prepossessions. I have the honour to be with respect,

Your humble servant,

Wm. WILLCOX, Aid-de-Camp.

Major General Sullivan.

I do hereby certify that on the 11th of September Major General Sullivan showed all the bravery and coolness that can be expected from a man of honour, during the action, and all the possible activity after the rout to rally the troops. Genl. Sullivan having come up with his division when the enemy was within half a mile

of our front, the short time left to his troops in order to form, was hardly sufficient for well disciplined troops and well exercised, and by no means sufficient for the troops of this army, who appear to me to *manœuvre* upon false principles, and where I cannot discover as yet the least notion of displaying columns, and forming briskly upon all emergencies. The division of the right had full time to form, the ground upon which said division was to draw up, was exceeding favorable, and if part of the division was not formed completely before the engagement, the fault cannot be imputed to Genl. Sullivan, who although he had a right to take the right of the line, took the left, in order to save time; a proof that the division of the right had full time to form, that Lord Sterling's division which was next to it, was completely formed when the enemy appeared. This is my sincere opinion; the true cause of the loss of the battle must be known to all those who are acquainted with what passed that day, and two days before the action.

Given under my hand at Harlam Camp, the twentieth day of September, 1777.

THOS. CONWAY, Brigr. Genl.

Major General Sullivan.

Wilmington, September 5th, 1777.

SIR:—This day the whole of the continental troops at this place are to move forward far as Newport, as is General Potter's Brigade; General Irwin's remains upon the works at this place until farther orders. At Newport we are to form, and perhaps throw up lines from Christiana on the left, to White or perhaps Red Clay creek (I forgot which is the name) on the right.

The enemy, as far as we yet learn, appears to spread over some considerable space of country, but in a detached way, from Couche's Mills to some part of Nottingham. In the skirmish of Wednesday morning perhaps the loss on each side may be nearly equal, but ours think themselves the best off. Deserters are frequently coming in, wholly German; they call the enemy larger than they can possibly be.

In the character of Quarter Master General some person is much wanted; he should be active, attentive, a penman, and a man of device—and as he must have accounts and handle money, his probity Council will easily advert to. Should Council be at any loss about a proper person, there are none occurs to me at present more fit than Mr. Matthew Irwin, late commissary, or Capt. Lytle.

About 400 more arms are wanted with all possible expedition, but we shall probably want a great number, as some are insufficient and others wanting repairs. The State Artillery is not yet come up, and the moment uncertain when Mr. Howe may make

his push, or should he delay we appear drawing nearer his Quarters.

[The remainder of this letter is taken up with a difficulty which occurred with an engineer, and has nothing relative to the army.]

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

To His Excellency, Thomas Wharton.

Head Quarters, Newport, Sept. 8th, 1777.

SIR:—Last night I received your favour of the 5th instant.

The troops a coming from Bucks County must, if not armed, receive their arms at Philadelphia, or wait for them at Wilmington, for at Head Quarters we have nothing of that kind.

I am of opinion with your honorable council, that the five thousand additional to the former demand, lately called for by Congress, are a number too large; they cannot be armed by the public, and if the neighboring States do any thing at all, we may venture to say with some degree of positivety they will not be wanted. The Resolve for raising occasionally as many as may guard or conduct the prisoners, &c., I take to be a prudent one; and liberal enough, only that council will please to keep an attentive eye that not less than four or five thousand without a chasm remain in the field. The two Brigades, by the last return I have had, amount in the total to 2973—perhaps the next return may be more perfect. On the subject of desertion I will commit somewhat to Col. Henry. This morning we expected the approach of the enemy, and yet continue to look for their movement. My private opinion is, which last night I delivered to his Excellency, that if Mr. Howe do not come on very soon, his intention is to re-embark on the Delaware, cross over and land where he may think most convenient on the Jersey shore, march up to the *Shevardefrize*, and the ships of force by water; from these I presume he will not again separate at any great distance but co-operate as far as may be, and by these in the sequel expects to bombard the City. From this conjecture, the two following inferences are natural; we should either attack him in his camp, or if he move, press hard upon his rear—and this before the shipping get round. The former requiring better intelligence than any our good General has yet received. The second is that the Jersey Militia should immediately finish the labour at Billingsport, or rather take post on their own shore. This I shall mention to the General, but wish Congress would anticipate his letters by immediately writing to Governor Livingston, if that is not already done. Your favor of the 6th is this moment came to hand. I shall take particular care to have the Resolves respecting Arms and Blankets communicated to the soldiery. The army

generally are in good spirits and look for action. I cannot add but that

I am with respect your excellency's
most obedient humble servant,
JOHN ARMSTRONG.

To His Excellency, Thomas Wharton, Junr.

West Chester, November 29th, 1845.

DEAR SIR:—When the British Army landed at the head of Elk, the inhabitants of Wilmington supposed the enemy would march through that place, on their way to Philadelphia; and, with a view to preserve their property, a number of merchants, and others, sent their goods into Chester County, near the forks of the Brandywine—exactly in the way of the depredations which they hoped to escape! A large quantity of liquors was stored in the cellar of Emmor Jefferis, at Jefferis's ford—the very route by which Sir William Howe and Lord Cornwallis passed with the main division of the enemy. The British soldiers ransacked the house—rolled the casks of liquor out of the cellar—knocked in the heads of the vessels, and drank of the contents until a great number of them became intoxicated. Sir William Howe took Mr. Jefferis with him as a guide, to conduct him towards Birmingham Meeting House. When they arrived on Osborn's hill, in view of the Meeting House, the Americans were posted on the high ground about a quarter of a mile south of that building, with some light companies thrown forward into the walled grave yard. The British pushed steadily forward, until, after a short conflict, the Americans gave way, and retreated towards Dilworthstown; Sir William in the mean time viewing the battle from Osborn's hill. After the retreat commenced, Howe moved on after the army, taking Mr. Jefferis some distance with him. Mr. J. used often to relate, that when they approached the contending forces, the bullets from the Americans whistled so sharply by him, that he could not refrain from dodging his head, as they passed; which Sir William observing, called out very encouragingly—“*Don't be afraid Mr. Jefferis, they won't hurt you.*” Mr. J. however, took the earliest opportunity to quit the scene, and return home.

The late Col. McClellan, of this county, who was a Captain in the American army, pointed out to me the position which his company occupied, on the left wing of the line, when formed, South of Birmingham Meeting House. It was on the eminence immediately south of where the road turns at right angles, to the east and west, about a quarter of a mile south of the Meeting House. He said, when the British approached them, a stout man whom he took to be a Scotchman, and who was evidently under the influence of liquor, advanced recklessly and placed

himself behind a little mound, made by the roots of a tree which had been blown down. From this position, which was within pistol shot of McClellan's company, the British soldier fired, and killed the Sergeant, who was standing by Capt. McClellan's side. This of course attracted McClellan's notice. The American Captains, at that time, were armed with Carbines, subsequently they carried Spontoons. Capt. M. seeing his Sergeant fall, and observing whence the fatal missile came, perceived that the man was re-loading his piece, as he lay crouched behind the mound, and partially protected by it, and determined to anticipate him. He discharged his Carbine with deliberate aim, and said he saw the soldier roll over, evidently disabled, if not killed. The advance of the Enemy now caused an immediate retreat. Col. McClellan told me, the last he saw of Gen. Washington, that day, was in the Wilmington road, about a mile below Dilworthstown. The General finding some officers there, during the retreat, rode up and inquired if any of them were acquainted with the country between that place and Chester. Capt. McClellan, being a native of the County, (it was all Chester County, at that time) replied in the affirmative; whereupon Gen. W. desired him to collect as many of the dispersed soldiery as possible, and rendezvous at Chester the next morning. Gen. Washington's head quarters were at Benjamin Ring's tavern, about three quarters of a mile East of Chadd's ford. He was there, and there about, all the fore part of the day of the battle. When he ascertained that the main body of the enemy were at Birmingham Meeting House and engaged with our troops, he was anxious to proceed thither by the shortest and speediest route. He found a resident of the neighborhood, named Joseph Brown, and asked him to go as a guide. Brown was an elderly man, and extremely loth to undertake that duty. He made many excuses, but the occasion was too urgent for ceremony. One of Washington's Suite dismounted from a fine charger, and told Brown if he did not instantly get on his horse, and conduct the General by the nearest and best route to the place of action, he would run him through, on the spot. Brown thereupon mounted, and steered his course direct towards Birmingham Meeting House, with all speed—the General and his attendants being close at his heels. He said the horse leapt all the fences without difficulty, and was followed in like manner by the others. The head of Gen. Washington's horse, he said, was constantly at the flank of the one on which he was mounted; and the General was continually repeating to him, "*Push along, old man*"—*Push along, old man.*" When they reached the road, about half a mile west of Dilworthstown, Brown said the bullets were flying so thick that he felt very uncomfortable; and as Washington now no longer required, nor paid attention to his guide, the latter embraced the first opportunity to

dismount and make his escape. This anecdote I had from my Father, who was well acquainted with Brown, and had often heard him relate the adventure. Some light troops, belonging to the division which went with Howe and Cornwallis to attack Washington's right flank, passed by the ford where now is "Wistar's Bridge." The Wister farm was then owned by John Brinton. He was an eccentric, daring little man, and a furious Whig, somewhat intemperate in his habits; and in the latter years of his life (when I knew him well) he was so extravagant in his deportment, when excited by liquor, that he was commonly called "Crazy Johnny." When the companies aforesaid approached his house, he greeted them with a hearty "*Hurrah for General Washington!*" They immediately arrested him, and treated him very roughly. They threatened to kill him instantly, if he did not *Hurrah for King George*. They prevailed, after some time, to make him say *Hurrah for King George*—but he immediately added—WASHINGTON! Finding him utterly unmanageable, they plundered his house, and took him with them, as a prisoner, to Philadelphia, where he was detained a long time, and treated with great severity. While the British armed ships, Roebuck and Liverpool, were at anchor in the Delaware, there was great excitement among the people, and some projects set on foot to destroy them. And on one occasion, this same "Crazy Johnny" shouldered his musket, went down to the river shore, and wading in as far as he could towards the vessels, courageously delivered his fire, and then marched back again! As long as he lived (which was some thirty years afterwards,) he always affected the costume of that day—especially the old Revolutionary cocked hat.

The late Serjeant at arms of the U. S. Senate, Gen. Mountjoy Bayly, who belonged to the Maryland Line, told me he commanded a scouting party, at the Battle of Brandywine, and was reconnoitering the country, about the forks of that stream, just before Howe and his division came along. He said he called at a house owned by a namesake of his, (where Joseph Burton now resides,) and found the owner to be such a warm friend of Sir William, that it was expedient to pass himself for a British officer. By that *ruse* he obtained some refreshments, and what was of more importance, he learnt that the enemy were close by, and momently expected to pass that way. He, of course, found a pretext for a short visit to his namesake, and made the best of his way back to the American army. The news, however, was too late to be of much value.

Some three or four and twenty years ago, I was dining with Mr. Adams (then Secretary of State,) and happened to sit at table next to Gen. Samuel Smith—who so distinguished himself by the defence of Mud Fort, and was so long a Representative and Senator in Congress, from Maryland. The General was, as usual,

in a sociable, communicative humor, and finding that I resided near the Brandywine battle ground, he was pleased to entertain me with a particular account of his own experience on that eventful occasion. Gen. Smith had command of a regiment, that day, and told me, among other details which have now escaped from memory, that during the confusion of the retreat he somehow got entirely separated from his command, and being unacquainted with the country, he was apprehensive of falling in with the enemy. Feeling his situation to be forlorn and perilous, he resolved to take vigorous measures to extricate himself. He rode up to the house of a farmer, who was a Quaker, or Friend, and told him he must conduct him (Smith) forthwith, and by a safe route, to Chester. The Friend demurred and protested against the undertaking. Col. Smith told him the case admitted of no delay, and drawing a pistol, assured him he was a dead man if he did not get his horse instantly and show the way to Chester. The Friend was alarmed, and exclaiming "*What a dreadful man thou art!*" went and saddled his horse, and prepared to set out.—"Now," said Col. S. "I have not entire confidence in your fidelity, but I tell you explicitly, that if you do not conduct me clear of the enemy, the moment I discover your treachery I will blow your brains out." The terrified farmer exclaimed, "*Why thou art the most desperate man I ever did see!*" The General added, that the Friend conducted him safely across the country to the place of destination, and was dismissed with proper acknowledgments for the favor.

I have thus hastily thrown together a few of the *Nugae historicae* of that fearful epoch in Chester County, as I have gathered them from the men of the time. They are, indeed, utter trifles, and may not be of the kind you are seeking. You will therefore dispose of them, without the slightest hesitation, exactly as you think proper.

Very respectfully, your most obedient,
WILLIAM DARLINGTON.

Dr. A. L. Elwyn, Philadelphia.

From a Lady near Westchester.

To Dr. A. L. ELWYN.

Esteemed Friend,—Observing by your circular that any little incident connected with the Revolution, &c., would be acceptable to your Society, I take the liberty to transmit you a few details. Though trifling in themselves, no doubt they were of considerable importance to those immediately interested. I presume you have been informed that Gen. Howe's troops, anterior to the battle of Brandywine, on their way to Chadd's ford passed North East of your farm, by Strode's Boarding school, and Richard Strode's, at that time the residence of his father, of the

same name. There, or at his house, a circumstance occurred commemorative of the pacific disposition exercised towards the Society of Friends. It was related to me by our venerable and scientific friend, John Forsythe, who was present (he informed me) at the time of the occurrence. The army making a halt there, entered the house, when some of the soldiers commenced their acts of depredation and pillage. Three or four of them entered his sleeping apartment, went to the wardrobe, and after doffing their own fantastic habiliments, attired themselves in his drab clothes, not omitting the short clothes and knee buckles worn at that period. Completely equipped from head to foot as Quakers, (to use their accustomed epithet to that profession,) they came vauntingly forth to their companions. They had also purloined a goodly number of his wife's blankets. Richard (my informant related) remained during their depredations apparently cool and collected. I suppose our venerable friend thought his conduct very praiseworthy, as he also was a member of that non-resisting profession. I would not wish to detract from his unresisting behaviour on the occasion, but in my estimation there was no other alternative. I suppose General Howe must have felt the benign influence that it was unjust to encroach upon the property of an unarmed and unoffending individual, for soon as he was informed, he conducted the soldiers back to the wardrobe, and compelled them to disrobe and neatly replace all that they had taken.

Jacob Ritter, an aged minister of the Society of Friends, I believe now a resident of Montgomery county, related some occurrences of the battle of Brandywine, connected with the history of himself, that were to us very interesting. A German by birth, and weaver by trade, his humble occupation, though toiling from four in the morning until nine o'clock at night, barely afforded him a scanty subsistence. One day, in the absence of his father, his mother called him to their humble dinner. "Mother," he said, "I dosh not want any, tish not good." She severely reprimanded him. Some soldiers calling soon after, offered him money, and he accompanied them. His only engagement was at the battle of Brandywine. It has afforded him since (he observed) much consolation that he had never killed a man. He chanced to be in a division that was not called into action. It covered the retreat. He farther narrated, he was within hearing of the officers' expostulations to Washington to let them fight. He replied, "You must obey my orders, our only resource is to retreat. The enemy would cut us down to a man." Gen. Green asked him how far they must retreat? Washington said, "over every hill, and across every river in America, if I order you." Reduced to such extremity by the overpowering numbers of the enemy, we can form little conception of their excited and tried state of feel-

ing. Our friend Jacob was after taken prisoner by the British to Philadelphia. Here he and his fellow prisoners endured great privations from hunger. Often, he said, was his mother's humble dinner presented to his mind. "Twas here he first felt convictions as to the immoral and irreligious tendency of war; here that he felt such consolation that he had not been called into action and made instrumental in depriving a fellow creature of existence. During their arrest he saw one of his companions apparently dying for want of nourishment, at the same time observing a cask within his reach which, upon inspection, he found contained crackers, and seeing the officers were engaged at cards, he secretly purloined two or three, and crumbled some in the poor man's mouth, which, with a little water, made him revive. Soon after this they were liberated. Some few years since he was met and recognized by the man whose life he had preserved.

A singular coincidence happened at Strode's Mill not long since, indicative of that exasperated state of feeling which seemed to pervade all classes at that critical and important juncture. Natty Aires, (English,) and Richard Dugan, (Irish,) the former engaged in the service of the English, the latter in the American cause, were at that place discussing the reminiscences of the war. Natty related that a party of American soldiers were retreating in the direction of Painter's Bridge, and he, with the British were in warm pursuit; when he espied a rebel (as he styled him) pinned to the fence by a bayonet. Richard had been a witness to the same painful scene. Dugan listened until he had finished his recital, then with furious energy he exclaimed, "And did you see that?" All the warlike feelings they had experienced at that time were rekindled; they linked together as impetuous combatants, and it was with difficulty they were separated.

I was some twelve or fifteen years ago paying a visit at Asher Miner's then residing at West Chester, and editor, at that time, of the "Village Record," now deceased. Our conversation chanced to be of the revolution. He informed me he had in his employment an aged colored woman, named Grace, who, at the time of that battle, lived with Peter Osborne in the house, since the property of his son Joseph. He called her in, and I had from her own lips, the recital of an event calculated to show the great consternation the inhabitants felt during the battles. Those persons residing nearest the scene of action resorted to their more distant neighbors for greater security. At their house they found it necessary to bake in order that their numerous friends might have something to eat. Several women were engaged in making pies. She informed me, at each report of cannon and volley of musquetry, they would all leave their employment and fly to the door, perhaps just as they had fixed their under-crust on

Montana's first state park, which was established in 1924, is located in the northern part of the state. It is a large area of land that includes several lakes, mountains, and forests. The park is popular among hikers, campers, and anglers. It is also a great place to observe wildlife, including bighorn sheep, elk, and moose. The park has many trails and scenic viewpoints that offer stunning views of the surrounding landscape. It is a great place to escape the hustle and bustle of city life and enjoy the beauty of nature.

the plate; returning, would place the lid or cover on without putting any fruit in their pie, not being conscious of any mistake until they came to eat them. The peaceable and retiring inhabitants were frequently annoyed by foraging parties, I presume the general accompaniment of all foreign invaders. Joseph Cheyney, an Englishman, not wishing to engage for or against his country, was secreted for some time in a wood adjoining his house. His location was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of West Town Boarding School. During his concealment his wife was frequently compelled to supply companies from both armies with victuals. At the time the English were quartered in Philadelphia one of their foraging parties came and drove off all their cattle; Thomas Cheyney, Esq., brother to Joseph, went to Valley Forge in order to get a permit from Washington, for his wife, Edith, to go to Philadelphia, to obtain from General Howe redress. He very politely remunerated her for their loss. Fearing to return home with so much money, she observed in the passage of the house she had to pass through, a barrel of flaxseed. Into this a considerable depth she thrust her money; deeming it more advisable than to run the risk of taking it home at that critical time. About a month after, she returned and found it safe. Thomas Cheyney, above alluded to, was the man who lost his hat in his speed to convey to the American army the intelligence that he had seen the British army crossing the Brandywine, and that they were then hastening down to Chadd's Ford. Some of the officers he first met were incredulous, but finding access to Gen. Washington, his report gained credence with him, and he commenced making arrangements to meet them.

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